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THE MABINOGION

THE MABINOGION

A New Translation

by

T. P. ELLIS, M.A. & JOHN LLOYD, M.A.

VOLUME I

OXFORD
At the Clarendon Press
1929

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PREFACE

THE Mabinogion or Mabinogi (both forms are used in the original texts) are the supreme romantic productions of the Welsh people in the field of medieval prose literature.

Eleven romances, out of a probably much greater number, having been reduced to writing, have survived, namely, the Four Branches of the Mabinogion proper, five tales of the Arthurian cycle, and two disconnected stories, the Dream of Macsen Wledig, and Lludd and Llevelys.

Originally, the romances were recitative and, as such, gathered to themselves elements from various sources and various ages. They expanded, developed, changed, as each bard or reciter handled the themes. Eventually they were reduced to writing, probably in each case by monks of the Medieval Church.

Only one attempt has been made hitherto to render into English the whole of these romances, namely, that by Lady Charlotte Guest, with the assistance of Tegid, in 1838–49. The intention of Lady Charlotte Guest appears to have been to produce a version which could be used for the instruction and amusement of her own children, with the result that parts of her translation are either inaccurate or bowdlerized. She was also acquainted with only one manuscript version of the romances, that of the Red Book of Hergest, which at times differs from the earlier versions of the White Book. It is only through her rendering that English

readers have been able to become acquainted with these literary achievements of the medieval Welsh people. The faults of that translation are few, though at times important, and its charm and literary qualities will always ensure for it the foremost place in the field which Lady Guest was the first to explore completely. Before she published her translation, the story of 'Pwyll' had been translated into English, with the same suppressions, in the *Cambrian Register*, vol. i, pp. 177 et seq. (1795); in 1829 the *Cambrian Quarterly* produced a translation of 'Math, the son of Mathonwy'; and in 1806 a translation of 'Lludd and Llevelys' and of 'Macsen Wledig' appeared in *Y Greal*.

Since her day, Mr. Alfred Nutt (1902) and Sir Owen M. Edwards (1902) have edited her text, and the latter, in a series of footnotes, drew attention to some of her mistakes. But, so far as we are aware, there has been no new translation into English of any of the romances, other than that of 'Math, the son of Mathonwy' by Professor W. J. Gruffydd, in a recent volume (*Math vab Mathonwy*, Cardiff, 1928) dealing with the origins of that story, published long after we had completed the translation of 'Math' which appears in this volume.

A noteworthy effort was made by Mr. J. M. Edwards in 1896–1901 to give a modernized Welsh version for the use of schools, and in 1908 and 1910 Professor Ifor Williams published the Welsh texts of the two disconnected stories with annotations in Welsh.

There have been attempts to translate the tales

direct from Lady Guest's English version into German and French; but the only satisfactory translation, direct from the Welsh texts, into either of these languages has been that of Professor J. Loth (*Les Mabinogion*, Paris, 1913), a masterly and brilliant work to which we have been indebted on several occasions. The production of a complete translation, with textual variations, has been rendered possible only by the work of Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans. In 1887 he, in conjunction with the late Professor Sir John Rhys, published, through the Oxford University Press, a diplomatic text, entitled *The Text of the Mabinogion and other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest* (hereinafter referred to under the abbreviation of R.B.). In 1907 he published, as vol. vii of the series of Old Welsh Texts, a diplomatic text of the *White Book Mabinogion* (hereinafter referred to under the abbreviation W.B.), this being a reproduction of the versions contained in the Peniarth MSS.

The translation which follows is based primarily upon these two diplomatic texts of Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans; and we may be permitted to express here our deep sense of the enormous debt, hitherto practically unrequited, which Wales and all students of romance owe to him for his work.

As Professor Loth has said, the appearance of the White Book text ' has rendered necessary a serious revision of the text'. Moreover, for the purpose of study, both of literature and of manners, an accurate and full version is needed, without any expurgations or toning down of passages which, at first sight, may appear rough.

We are perfectly well aware that there have been and are Welsh scholars far better equipped than we are to present a new translation, and it may appear rash of us to attempt to supply the need; but, for one reason or another, ninety years have passed by since Lady Guest's work, without any of them undertaking the task, and we have been unable to observe any sign of the task being undertaken in the present generation. Meanwhile there is an undoubted desire, steadily growing, in scholastic and scholarly circles, for a version more accurate in details than that which has hitherto been available. It is that demand which we attempt to meet in these volumes; and our hope is that, in spite of our personal limitations, the attempt will prove not altogether without utility.

Any one translating from Welsh into English literally is confronted with the difficulty that arises from the difference in the structures of the two languages. It is much easier to render literary Welsh into literary English than it is to do so into literal English. We have tried to preserve a correct balance, and to give a literal translation in a literary form, retaining, as far as possible, Welsh idioms, so long as they can be reproduced without violence to the genius of the English language.

As our primary object is to translate, we have been constrained to place upon ourselves a rigid limit both in our introductory notes and the notes at the foot of each page. We have, for example, made no attempt to discuss on the one hand the underlying mythological

strata, or, on the other, the philological matters of interest with which the original texts abound. Such notes as there are are introduced merely to illuminate or explain occasional points of importance, or to mark differences in the texts, and we do not profess to have produced a fully annotated edition. To do that would require several massive volumes.

We had, at first, intended to add a biographical and geographical section regarding the characters and places mentioned in the tales; but our notes became so voluminous that we recognized, at an early stage, that such must be reserved for a future occasion.

The short bibliography attached is not a bibliography of all the works we have had occasion to refer to in our studies of the Mabinogion; it is merely a bibliography of books pertinent to the task of translating, which we have used.

T. P. E.
J. Ll.

Dolgelley, Merioneth,
1st March 1929.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO PWYLL, THE PRINCE OF DYFED

THE story of 'Pwyll' is the first of the Four 'Branches' of the Mabinogi proper. There are two texts of the story: that of the Red Book (pp. 1 to 25), and that of the White Book (cols. 1 to 38). There are no subsidiary fragments. The two texts are complete, and follow one another very closely. A few words appear in the one which do not appear in the other, and there are occasional substitutions of one word for another with a similar or identical meaning, but such variations are rare. The Red Book is not, however, a verbatim copy of the White Book, for the texts have many orthographical, grammatical, and structural differences, of considerable importance to the philologist. These differences occur throughout the whole of the Four Branches, even when the texts otherwise correspond, and they establish that there was no strict 'copying' of the one text from the other; each reproduces the same story in the same sequence, employing the varying orthography and the like of the day in which it was written down. It is possible that the Red Book scribe had the White Book text before him, and transformed the latter into the current speech of his own time, just as a modern writer might modernize the diction of the *Canterbury Tales*; it is also possible that the two texts were transcribed, not copied verbatim, from a common original, which itself differed in grammatical form, though not in matter, as much from

each of the two texts transcribed from it as the two texts differ from one another.

The story of 'Pwyll' contains two distinct parts, loosely joined together—that relative to the adventure of Pwyll with Arawn, and that relative to his encounter, marriage, and married life with Rhiannon. The latter may be subdivided into two parts, the meeting with Rhiannon, and the birth, loss, and recovery of Pryderi. It is the birth and childhood of Pryderi that gives the tale its place in the Mabinogi or 'enfances'.

The person of Pryderi may be regarded as the connecting thread running through all the Four Branches; Pwyll treating of his birth; Branwen of his visit with Bendigaid Frân to Ireland, and his journey with the Venerable Head to London; Manawydan of his wanderings in Dyfed; and Math of the rape of his swine by Gwydion and of his death.

The mythological purport of the story of 'Pwyll' is of very great importance; but we are debarred, by the limits we have set ourselves, from entering into any discussion of this extremely complex problem. Apart from this mythological purport, there are many other matters of value and interest. Much light is thrown on the customs of early Wales—the legal exactness, for example, is remarkable—and on the standards of conduct of the time. We see, for instance, an extreme punctiliousness in the matter of personal honour, a rigid adherence to the sanctity of the spoken word, and an exalted view of chastity, especially male chastity. We find in 'Pwyll', as we do in all these stories, that

feeling in regard to sex honour which Renan speaks of as the electrifying influence on the manners of the Middle Ages, which was the contribution of Welsh literature to the times, and which had so much to do in paving the way for the growth of the conception of the true chivalric character in all Western literature.

The scene of 'Pwyll' is cast in South Wales, mainly in the old principality of Dyfed—that is, modern Pembroke and western Carmarthen—and in the mythical abode of the dead, Annwn, which was originally conceived of as the home of the gods—a pleasant, rich country, full of everything a man might need. There is, however, a probability that the original terrestrial locale of the Four Branches was in North Wales; but, inasmuch as Welsh literature blossomed more richly in the south than in the north, the final form of Pwyll acquired a distinctively South Welsh atmosphere and setting.

Welsh philologists, as a whole, regard the text of Pwyll as the earliest of the Four Branches to be redacted; there are differences of view as to the exact period when the redaction took place, but it may be dated, we think, on a balance of opinion, as at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.

PWYLL, PRINCE OF DYFED

R.B. 1 This is the beginning of the Mabinogi.[1]

W.B. 1 PWYLL, Prince of Dyfed, was lord [3] of the seven *cantrefi*[4] of Dyfed; and once upon a time he was at Arberth, his chief court,[5] and it came into his heart and mind to go to hunt. The direction of his dominion in which he desired to hunt was Glyn Cuch, and that night he set forth from Arberth, and came as far as the top of Llwyn Diarwya. And that night he remained there, and, on the morrow in the youth of the day,[6] he arose and came to Glyn Cuch in order to let loose the dogs in the wood. And he sounded the horn and started assembling the hunt. And he went on foot after the dogs, and lost touch with his companions; and while he was listening for the baying of the pack, he

[1] Not in W.B. [2] (throughout text) not in R.B.

[3] 'arglwydd'. The 'arglwydd' or lord in ancient Wales was nominally subject to the 'brenhin' or king. In actual practice he was independent. He was the administrator of the territories under him, rather than the absolute owner. The 'cantref' was regarded as the unit of a 'lordship', and to be lord over seven 'cantrefi' implied a very powerful position.

[4] 'cantref', pl. 'cantrefi'. A territorial division in Wales, somewhat similar to the English 'hundred'. Theoretically, a 'cantref' contained a hundred 'trefi', settlements, or homesteads.

[5] 'llys', court. The word is frequently translated 'palace'; but the term means the residence of a lord or other person having territorial jurisdiction over a tract of country, the place where he dwelt, where renders were made, and where the appellate court of the tract sat.

[6] 'the youth of the day'. Professor Loth identifies the time with 'prime', i. e. the first three hours after sunrise.

heard the cry of another pack. And it was not the same cry, and it was coming to meet his own pack.

And he beheld a dark clearing[7] of level fields in the wood, and as his own pack was reaching the side of the clearing, he saw a stag in front of the other pack; and towards the middle of the clearing, behold! the pack that was after it overtook it, and brought it to ground. And then he looked at the colour of the pack,[8] without pausing to look at the stag, and of all the hounds he had seen in the world, he had seen no dogs of the same colour as these. This was the colour of them, glittering brilliant white, and their ears red; and like as the whiteness of the dogs glittered, so glittered the redness of their ears. R.B. 2 W.B. 2

And then he came to the dogs, and drove away the pack that had slain the stag, and set his own pack upon the stag. And as he was setting on his own dogs, he saw a man on horseback[9] coming after the pack upon a

7 'llanerch'. Lady Guest translates 'glade'. The word, a compound of 'llan', enclosed plot, and 'erch', dark, implies an open space, free of trees and like growth, within a wood, and shaded darkly by the surrounding trees.

8 This pack, the Cwn Annwn, is the pack of hell-hounds of Welsh legend, transformed here into a more normal hunting pack of the King of the Abode of Death (Annwn).

9 'marchauc', 'marchog'. The word means, literally, a horseman. It is sometimes used in the simple sense of a 'rider'. In Welsh medieval parlance it signified one who rode into battle on horseback. This privilege was enjoyed by men of local position, the heads of clans and the like. The ordinary clansmen, operating as mobile light infantry, went into battle on foot. Later, in chivalric romances, the word was used as the equivalent of the English 'knight', French 'chevalier', just as 'marchogaeth', the art of riding, was used to designate 'chivalry'.

large speckled grey steed, with a hunting horn hanging from his neck, and dressed in hunting clothes of grey woollen.

And thereupon the man on horseback came to him, and spoke to him thus. 'Sir,' said he, 'I know who you are, and I greet you not.' 'Indeed,' said he, 'and perhaps you are of such rank that you are not bound to.'[10] 'Verily,' said he, 'it is not the dignity of my rank that hinders me doing so.' 'Oh, sir,' said he, 'what else?' 'Between me and God,'[11] said he, 'your own impoliteness[12] and your discourtesy.' 'What discourtesy, sir, have you seen in me?' 'I never saw greater discourtesy in man', said he, 'than to drive away the pack that had killed the stag, and to set your own pack upon it.[13] That', said he, 'was discourtesy, and though I may not take vengeance upon you, between me and God,' said he, 'I will do you dishonour worth a

[10] This appears to indicate that, according to Welsh custom, salutation was made, in the first instance, by inferior to superior, and responded to by the latter. We see many instances of this in the stories, and a salutation by superior to inferior is more than once referred to as a mark of courteous condescension.

[11] A common Welsh medieval oath, never now used.

[12] 'annwybot', lit. 'ignorance'. Ignorance and impoliteness were regarded as one and the same thing in medieval Wales.

[13] According to Welsh hunting etiquette, which was very strict, it was impermissible to loose dogs upon a quarry which dogs previously unleashed were in pursuit of. But it was equally a breach of etiquette for any one to unleash his dogs in the presence of the king's dogs, which had first claim to a trial. The point of the episode is that Pwyll, as prince, was within his rights in resenting the unleashing of another's dogs, had that other not been himself a prince, a fact of which Pwyll was ignorant.

hundred stags'.[14] 'Oh, sir,' said he, 'if I have done ill, W.B. 3
I will redeem your friendship.' 'How', said he, 'will you redeem it?' 'According as your rank may be; but I know not who you are?' 'A crowned king am I in the land whence I come.' 'Lord,' said he, 'good day to you, and from what land do you come?' 'From Annwn,'[15] said he; 'Arawn, King of Annwn, am I.' 'Lord,' said he, 'by what means may I obtain your friendship?' 'Behold the way you may obtain it,' said he. 'The man whose dominions are opposite to mine is ever warring against me. This is he, Hafgan, King of R.B. 3
Annwn; and by ridding me of that oppression, which you can easily[16] do, shall you obtain my friendship.' 'With pleasure will I do that,' said he. 'Show me how I may do so.' 'I will show you,' said he. 'Behold how you may. I will make a firm alliance with you. Thus will I do. I will put you in Annwn in my place, and I will give you the fairest lady you ever saw to W.B. 4
sleep with you each night,[17] and my form and sem-

[14] 'Dishonour', insult, or 'sarhad', in Welsh custom was a personal wrong, for which compensation, assessed in cattle, had to be paid. A stag was equal in value to an ox, or two cows, and the value of 100 stags was 1000 shillings. As the value of a clan chief's honour was equivalent to 180 shillings, the measure of the threat can be ascertained. This explains also Pwyll's offer to 'redeem' Arawn's friendship, if he has dishonoured him, by paying him the compensation due to his rank.

[15] 'Annwn', 'Annwfn'. The Welsh Hades, or abode of the dead.

[16] R.B. 'hawd', W.B. 'haut', M.W. 'hawdd'. The fact that W.B. uses 'haut', with the 't' equivalent to M.W. 'dd', is proof of there having been an earlier manuscript than that which has survived.

[17] This, in ancient society, was a common form of extreme

blance[18] shall be upon you, so that there shall not be a page of the chamber,[19] nor an officer, nor any other person who has ever followed me who shall know that I myself am not you.[20] And that,' said he, 'till the end of a year from to-morrow,[21] when we will meet in this place.' 'Yes,' said he, 'but though I may be there to the end of a year, what indication shall I have to find the man of whom you speak?' 'One year from to-night', he said, 'is there an appointment between me and him at the ford. Be you there in my likeness,' said he, 'and one stroke that you give him, he shall not survive. And although he ask you to give him a second, give it not, however much he may entreat you. I gave him one; nevertheless, he fought with me next day as well as before.' 'Yes,' said Pwyll, 'what shall I do regarding my dominions?' Said Arawn, 'I will arrange that neither man nor woman shall there be in your domi-

hospitality. There are a few other cases of the custom in these stories.

[18] W.B. 'ansawd', R.B. 'gosked'; meaning identical.

[19] 'gwas ystauell'. Page of the chamber. One of the regular officers of court mentioned in the Welsh Laws.

[20] 'a wypo na bo miui vych di'. Professor Anwyl's literal rendering is, 'that it shall not be myself that shou shalt be'. It is an instance of the prospective use of the subjunctive. The meaning is that no one will have any hesitation in accepting Pwyll, when in Arawn's guise, as Arawn. Cf., with 'a wypo na bo tidi wyf i', a few lines lower down. Lit. 'that it shall not be you that I shall be', and rendered 'who shall know that you yourself are not I'.

[21] 'a year from to-morrow'. 'A year and a day' was a common period in medieval Welsh calculation. It formed, for example, the almost invariable period of limitation for legal claims, other than those connected with land.

nions who shall know that you yourself are not I, and I will go in your place.' 'Gladly', said Pwyll, 'will I go yonder.' 'Unimpeded shall be your way, and nothing shall hinder you, until you come into my dominions, and I myself will be your escort.'

He escorted him until he saw the court and dwell- W.B. 5
ings. 'Behold', said he, 'the court and dominions in your power. Repair to the court; there is none therein who will not recognize you as me; and as you see the service in it, you will know the custom of the court.' R.B. 4

He repaired to the court; and in the court he beheld sleeping-rooms, and halls,[22] and chambers,[22] with the most beautiful decorations any one had ever seen in the way of buildings. And he went into the hall to undress,[23] and there came *macwyaid*[24] and youths[24] to undress

[22] 'Neuadd'=hall, was the central apartment of the Welsh 'llys', the general public room of audience, &c. 'Ystafell'=chamber, was a private apartment, to which the public had not access.

[23] 'to undress'. W. 'diarchenu'. Lit. 'to take off one's shoes'. The word is generally used to indicate change of apparel after a battle or journey.

[24] 'macwy', pl. 'macwyaid' (mackwyeit). The word has no exact equivalent in English. Under the Welsh military system youths between the ages of 14 and 21 were under training, in commendation to the local 'arglwydd'. In their early years they formed the class of 'gweision bychain' or 'gweision ieueinc', translated as 'youths'; when they were fully trained they formed the 'macwyaid'. The whole body of military retainers of a prince or lord was the 'teulu' or bodyguard, or household troops ('tei', house, 'llu', host), on whom the actual power of the lord depended. Lady Guest's rendering of 'teulu'=household, and Professor Loth's as 'clan' are equally inaccurate. The 'teulu' owed no allegiance to any one or anything save the immediate lord

him, and all as they came saluted him. Two horsemen came to free[25] him of his hunting-dress, and to clothe him in a garment of gold brocaded silk.[26] And the hall was made ready; and behold, he saw the body-guard[24] and the retinues[27] coming in—the retinue the most comely and the best-equipped any one had seen—and the Queen with them, the fairest woman that any one had seen, with a golden robe of shining brocaded silk upon her. And then they went to wash,[28] and approached the tables. And thus they sat;[29] the Queen
W.B. 6 on one side of him, and the Earl,[30] as he supposed, on the other side.

And he began to speak with the Queen, and of all

to whom they were commended, and their fidelity passed into a proverb. The word 'macwy' is, in origin, coincident with the Gaelic 'mac'. It is retained in Welsh throughout this translation. In chivalric literature the word 'macwy' was used frequently as equivalent to 'esquire', just as 'marchog' came to mean 'knight'.

[25] W.B. has 'iwaret' = 'to liberate from'; R.B. has 'dynnu' (tynnu)='to pull off'.

[26] 'pali'. Fr. 'paille'. Alexandrine brocaded silk. The word occurs frequently in these stories.

[27] 'retinue'. W. 'nifer', the primary meaning of which is a 'crowd' or 'host'. An armed host is, however, 'llu'.

[28] Ablutions before meals were rigidly observed in Wales. We find them constantly mentioned. The cleanliness of the people is remarked on by Giraldus.

[29] The references to precedence in sitting are frequent in these stories. The matter was very minutely regulated in the old Welsh laws. Later on, on several occasions, it will be noticed that, whatever his ordinary rank was, the guest took the place of honour next the host, and after the principal guest had been so disposed of, 'everybody else according to their rank'.

[30] The word 'Iarll' in the W. text is of Scandinavian origin.

ladies he had ever seen, she, in his converse with her, was the most unaffected and most gentle in disposition and conversation. And they occupied themselves with meat and drink, and songs and carousal,[31] and of all the courts of the earth he had seen, this was the best supplied with food and drink and vessels of gold and royal jewels.

Time came for them to go to sleep, and they went to sleep, he and the Queen. As soon as they had gone to bed, he turned his face towards the side of the bed and his back towards her. From then till morning he spoke not one word to her. On the morrow gentleness and delightful conversation was there between them. Whatever affection there might be between them during the day, there was not one night to the end of the year different from what the first night had been.[32]

And the year he spent in hunting, and songs, and R.B. 5
feasting, and friendship and discourse with his fellows
until the night appointed for the combat. And when W.B. 7
that night came, like remembrance of the appointment came to the most distant man in the whole

[31] 'cyfedach', 'carousal'. The ordinary course of a Welsh banquet was an indulgence, after eating, in music, stories, and deep potations. The word 'cyfedach' indicates the latter.

[32] This passage from 'Time came for them . . .', Lady Guest, under a mistaken idea of propriety, has suppressed. In doing so, she has largely obscured the 'motif' of the story. The incident undoubtedly forms part of the original form of the story. Here Arawn's offer, referred to in note 17, is rejected, under the sense of the highest chivalric ideal. It shows that the chivalric ideal was current in Wales, as indeed in Ireland, long before Norman-French chivalry arose.

dominion. And he himself came to the appointment, and the *gwyrda*[33] of the dominions with him. And as soon as he came to the ford, a horseman arose and spoke thus. '*Gwyrda*,' said he, 'listen well. It is between the two kings that this appointment is, and that between their two bodies. And both are claimants against the other, and that for land and soil. And you can all stand aside, and leave it between them two alone.'[34]

Thereupon the two kings approached each other in the middle of the ford, and encountered; and at the first thrust, he who was in the stead of Arawn struck Hafgan on the centre of the boss of his shield, so that it was cloven in twain, and his whole armour broken, and Hafgan was borne to the ground, an arm's and a spear's length over his horse's crupper,[35] and he received a mortal wound. 'Oh, sir,' said Hafgan,
W.B. 8 'what claim had you on my death? I was demanding nothing of you. I knew no cause either for you to slay

[33] 'gwrda', pl. 'gwyrda'. The word, meaning literally 'good man', has no exact equivalent in English, except perhaps 'thane'. It is incorrect to translate it as 'noble', for Welsh society had no 'nobility' class. The 'gwrda' was a man of local influence and property, somewhat similar to the English 'squire' of the last century. We have retained the Welsh word, where it occurs, in this translation.

[34] The passage is interesting. The word 'hawlwr', claimant, is the common legal term for 'plaintiff'; and both sides are represented as making a claim for 'land and soil'. The decision on the claim is left to 'wager of battle', a form of trial introduced under Norman-French influence.

[35] This phrase, of frequent occurrence in the stories, is, according to Professor Loth, derived from the phraseology of the tournament.

me. But, for God's sake,' said he, 'since you have started to slay me, finish.' 'Ah, sir,' said he, 'I may yet repent doing what I have done to you. Seek you who may slay you; I will not slay you.' 'My trusty *gwyrda*,' said Hafgan, 'bear me hence. Death is my destiny now;[36] my condition is such that I can support you no more.' 'My *gwyrda*,' also said the man who was in the stead of Arawn, 'take guidance and find out who ought to be men[37] to me.' 'Lord,' said the *gwyrda*, 'all should be, for there is no king over the whole of Annwn but you.' 'Yes,' he said, 'those who come submissively R.B. 6
it is fitting to receive; those who come not willingly, let them be compelled by the force of swords.'

And thereupon he received the homage[37] of the men, and began to take possession of the country, and by noon next day the two kingdoms were in his power. And thereupon he journeyed towards the rendezvous, and came to Glyn Cuch.

And when he came there, Arawn, the King of Annwn, W.B. 9
was there to meet him, and each of them welcomed the other. 'Yes,' said Arawn, 'God reward you for your friendship to me, whereof I have heard.' 'Yea,' said he, 'when you come to your country yourself, you will see that which I have done for you.' 'Whatever', said he, 'you have done for me, may God repay you for.'

[36] 'neut teruynedic agheu y mi'; lit. 'it is the appointed death to me'.

[37] This phrase indicates the influence of feudal ideas, which were entirely foreign to old Welsh custom. The word 'gwr' = man, homme, and the word 'gwrogaeth' came to mean 'homage', thus following the French prototype.

Then Arawn gave to Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed, his own form and semblance, and he also took his own form and semblance; and Arawn set forth towards his court in Annwn, and he was rejoiced to see his retinue and his bodyguard, for he had not seen them for a long time.[38] They, however, had not known the need of him, and they felt no more novelty at his coming than before. That day was spent in joy and merriment; and he sat and conversed with his wife and his *gwyrda*. And when it was more timely to sleep than to feast, they went to sleep.

The King got into bed, and his wife came to him. First he talked with his wife,[1] and he indulged in loving
W.B. 10 pleasure and affection with her. And as she had not been used to that for a year, she meditated on it. 'Oh, God,' said she, 'what different thought has he to-night from what he has had for a year from to-night?' And she thought for a long time. And after she had so thought, he woke up, and he spoke to her, and twice
R.B. 7 and thrice, and he got no answer thereto from her. 'Why', said he, 'don't you speak to me?' 'I tell you', said she, 'I have not spoken so much as this for a year in such a place as this.' 'What do you mean?' said he, 'we have talked constantly; that is certain fact.'[39] 'Shame be on me,' said she, 'for a year since yester evening, from the moment we have gone within the folds of the bed-clothes, there has been neither joy nor

[38] W.B. 'canis rywelsei ef'; R.B. 'canys gwelsei yr ystalym'.

[39] The Welsh idiom, 'ys glut a beth'='it is fervent of a thing'. Glut=stick, Eng. glue.

talk, nor have you even turned your face towards me, not to speak of anything else having been between us.' On that he pondered. 'Oh, Lord God,' said he, 'I have found a man whose friendship was firm and faithful.'[40] Then he said to his wife, 'Lady,' said he, 'don't revile me. Between me and God,' said he, 'I have not W.B. 11 slept with you, nor have I lain down by you since a year from last night.' And then he told her the whole story. 'By God to whom I confess,' said she, 'you have got strong hold of a friend in respect of war, in temptations of the body, and in keeping faith with you.' 'Lady,' said he, 'that is exactly what I was thinking, while I was silent with you.' 'Passing strange was that,' said she.[41]

Then Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed, came to his dominions and country, and began to inquire of the *gwyrda* of the land what his rule over them had been like during the past year, compared with what it had been before. 'Lord,' said they, 'your courtesy was never so great, you were never so lovable a servant yourself, nor were you so liberal in bestowing your gifts, and your rule was never better than in this year.' 'Between me and God,' said he, 'it is right for you to thank the man who has been with you.' And behold, the adventure as it had happened, and which Pwyll related to them in full. W.B. 12

[40] 'kadarn avngwr y gedymdeithas a diffleis a geueis i yn gedymdeith'. Lit. 'strong of one man for his companionship and secure did I obtain as a companion'. Probably, however, 'kadarn avngwr' is a lost idiom='the exceptionally strong man'.

[41] The whole of this passage from 'The King got into bed' has been suppressed by Lady Guest.

R.B. 8 'Yes, lord,' said they, 'thank God that you have had that friendship; and you will not withhold from us, I hope,[42] the rule which we have enjoyed for this year past.' 'Between me and God, I will not withhold it,' said Pwyll.

And thenceforth they began to make strong the friendship between them, and they sent, one to the other, horses and greyhounds and hawks, and all such jewels as each thought would be pleasing to the other. And by reason of his having dwelt that year in Annwn, and having ruled there so prosperously and united the two kingdoms into one[43] by his valour and prowess, he ceased to bear the name of Pwyll, Prince of Dyfed, and was called Pwyll, Chief of Annwn, from that time forward.

Once upon a time he was at Arberth, his chief court, where a feast was prepared for him and the great retinues of men with him. And after the first meal,[44] Pwyll arose to go for a walk, and he went to the top of a mound that was above the court, called Gorsedd
W.B. 13 Arberth. 'Lord,' said one of the court, 'it is the

[42] 'Ot gwnn'; lit. 'if I know it'=I hope; presumably. It does not appear necessary to transfer this phrase to the succeeding sentence, as Professor Loth has done.

[43] R.B. reads 'in one day'. The word 'dyd', however, is filled in above the line in the MS., and may be a later addition.

[44] The word 'gwledd', feast, is not applied to a single meal. It indicates a banquet spread over a considerable period, e.g. as in Owein and Lunet, a period of three months. The phrase 'bwyta kyntaf', first meal, refers to the first of the meals during the 'gwledd'

peculiarity[45] of the mound that whatever noble[46] sits upon it cannot go thence, without one of two things, either receiving wounds or blows or else seeing a wonder.'[47] 'I fear not to receive wounds and blows in the midst of such a retinue as this, but as to the wonder, I would be glad, could I see it. I will go', said he, 'and sit upon the mound.'

And upon the mound he sat. And while they were sitting, they saw a lady on a big fine pale white horse, with a garment of shining gold silk[2] upon her, coming along the highway that passed by[48] the mound; and the horse seemed to all who saw it to move at a slow even pace. And it was coming up level with the mound. 'My men,' said Pwyll, 'is there any one among you who recognizes yonder rider?' 'There is not, lord,' R.B. 9
said they. 'Go, one of you,' said he, 'to meet her to ascertain who she may be.' And one of them arose obediently,[49] and when he came to meet her on the road, she had gone past. He followed after her as fast as he could on foot,[50] and the greater his speed was, the farther was she from him. And when he saw it W.B. 14

45 'kynnedyf', implies a magic quality.

46 'dylyedauc', worthy one or noble. The word, however, does not imply a rank of nobility, of which Wales in early days knew nothing.

47 The 'gorsedd', mound or tumulus, has throughout Welsh story been always associated with magic. The belief persisted well into the nineteenth century and is, indeed, far from dead yet.

48 W.B. 'a gerdei heb law'; R.B. 'a gerdei or'=proceeded from.

49 R.B. 'yn (u)vud'=obediently; W.B. 'y uynyd'=up.

50 or 'as fast as the best of footmen could'.

availed him not to follow her, he returned to Pwyll, and said to him, 'Lord,' said he, 'it avails not any one in the world to follow her on foot.' 'Yes,' said Pwyll, 'go to the court, and take the fleetest horse that you know,[51] and go after her.'

And he took the horse, and went forward. He arrived at an open plain, and put spurs to his horse, and the more he urged his horse, the farther was she from him. She kept the same pace as she had at starting. His horse broke down; and when he realized that the pace of the horse was failing, he returned to where Pwyll was. 'Lord,' said he, 'it avails no one to follow yonder lady. I knew of no horse in the realm swifter than this, and it availed me not to pursue her.' 'Yes,' said Pwyll, 'there must be some kind of illusion[52] there. Let us go to the court.' So to the court they went, and they passed that day. And the next day they arose, and
W.B. 15 passed it until it was time to go to eat. And after the first meal,[44] 'Yea,' said Pwyll, 'we will go, the same retinue as we were yesterday, to the top of the mound. And do you', said he to one of his *macwyaid*, 'take with you the swiftest horse that you know in the field.' And that did the *macwy* do.

They went to the mound, and the horse with them. And as they were sitting, they beheld the lady on the
R.B. 10 same horse, and with the same garment on her, coming along the same road. 'Behold,' said Pwyll, 'the rider of yesterday. Be ready, youth,' said he, 'to ascertain

[51] R.B. 'see'.

[52] 'ystyr hut', 'magical meaning'.

who she is.' ' My lord,' said he, ' that will I do with pleasure.'

Thereupon the rider came opposite to them. So the *macwy* mounted his horse then, and before he had finished settling himself in the saddle, she had passed by, and there was a considerable space between them. But her speed in going was no different than the day before. Then he put his horse into an amble, and thought that, in spite of the gentle pace at which his horse went, he would overtake her. But that availed W.B. 16 him not. He gave his horse the reins, and still he came no nearer to her than if he had been at a walking pace. And the more he urged his horse, the farther was she from him. Yet her pace was no faster than before. Since he saw that it availed not to pursue her, he returned and came to where Pwyll was. ' Lord,' said he,[53] ' the horse has no power other than what you have seen.' ' I have seen ', said he, ' that it is useless for any one to pursue her. Between me and God,' said he, ' she must have a message for some in this plain, if her haste would allow her to declare it. Let us go back to the court.' And to the court they came, and they spent that night in songs and feasting, until they were satisfied.

And the next day they beguiled the day until it was time to go to eat. And when they had finished the food, Pwyll said, ' Where is the host that we were yesterday and the day before at the top of the mound? ' ' Lord, we are here,' said they. ' Let us go ', said he, ' to the mound to sit. And do you ', said he to the groom,

53 There is a lacuna in the W.B. text at this point.

W.B. 17 'saddle my horse well, and come with it to the road, and bring also my spurs with you.' And the servant did
R.B. 11 so. They came to the mound to sit down; and they had not been there any length of time ere they beheld the lady rider coming by the same road, and in the same appearance, and at the same pace.

'Young man,' said Pwyll, 'I see the rider coming[1]; bring hither my horse.' Pwyll mounted his horse.[2] And no sooner had he mounted his horse than she passed him. He turned after her, and he let his spirited, prancing horse go, and he thought that at the second stride,[54] or the third, he would overtake her. He was no nearer, however, to her than before. Then he urged his horse to the utmost speed it had; yet he found that it availed him not to follow her.

Then said Pwyll, 'Oh, maiden,' said he, 'for the sake of the man you love best, stay for me.' 'I will stay with pleasure,' said she, 'and it would have been better for the horse had you requested it long since.' So the maiden stood and waited, and she threw back the part of her head-dress [55] which should have covered her face, and fixed her eyes upon him, and began to talk
W.B. 18 with him. 'Lady,' said he, 'whence come you, and what journey are you upon?' 'I journey on my own business,'[56] said she, 'and glad am I to see you.'

[54] R.B. 'cam', stride; W.B. 'neit', leap.

[55] The head-dress referred to was a kind of whimple, with a veil attached.

[56] 'Neges', Lat. necesse. 'Neges' means an 'errand', 'message', 'business'; and is constantly used, in the Arthurian romances, in the sense of 'quest'.

'My greeting be unto you,' said he. And then he thought that ugly was the appearance of the maidens and the ladies he had ever seen compared to her appearance.

'Lady,' he said, 'will you tell me aught of your business?' 'I will tell. Between me and God,' said she, 'my chief business was to seek you.' 'Behold,' said Pwyll, 'to me the best business is your coming;[57] and will you tell me who you are?' 'I will tell you, lord,' said she. 'I am Rhiannon, the daughter of Hefeydd Hên, and they seek to give me to a husband against my will. But no husband would I have, and that because of love for you, neither will I have one now unless you reject me.[58] And I have come to know your answer thereto.' 'Between me and God,' said Pwyll, 'that is my answer to you. If I might choose among all the R.B. 12
ladies and maidens in the world, it is you that I would choose.' 'Yea,' said she, 'if you so will, make a tryst with me, ere I be given to another man.' 'The sooner W.B. 19
the better for me,' said Pwyll, 'and wherever you wish, fix the tryst.' 'I will, lord,' said she. 'A year from to-night, at the court of Hefeydd, I will cause a

57 The text has 'dyuot' = coming. It may be a mistake for 'douot' = a find; and the reading would then be, 'to me the best business is finding you'.

58 This passage is in strict accord with the legal rights of women in early Wales. The nearest male relative, in consultation with other near relatives, had the right to bestow a maiden in marriage. A marriage in pursuance of such bestowal was termed 'rhodd y cenedl', or gift of kin. But no maiden could be bestowed against her will; but marriage without consent of kin was regarded as less honourable than with it.

feast[59] to be prepared ready against your coming.' 'Gladly', said he, 'I will be at that tryst.' 'Lord,' said she, 'remain in health, and remember to fulfil your promise. I will go hence.'

So they parted, and he went back to his body-guard and retinue. And whatever questions they might ask him respecting the maiden, he would turn to other matters of conversation.

Thence they passed the year until the time. And he equipped himself as the hundredth horseman,[60] and went forth in the direction of the court of Hefeydd Hên. And he came to the court; and there was joy at his coming, and a throng, and rejoicing and vast preparations were there for him. And the whole supplies of food[61] of the court were placed under his orders. And the hall was made ready, and they went to the tables. Thus they sat: Hefeydd Hên on one side of Pwyll, and Rhiannon on the other side of him, and
W.B. 20 then every one according to his rank.[29]

They ate and feasted and talked; and at the beginning of the carousal after eating, they saw entering a tall auburn-haired youth, of royal bearing, and a garment of brocaded silk on him. And when he came into the

59 A feast was the preliminary to all marriages in Wales. It was, in fact, the ceremony, and served the purpose of publication of intention, which, if consummated, was all that was legally necessary to validate a union.

60 'Ar y ganuet marchawc'. This is a peculiar Welsh idiom. Lady Guest translates 'with a hundred knights'. The Welsh idiom implies there were a hundred altogether, including himself. The idiom is of common occurrence.

61 'uaranned'=provisions, victuals, food supplies.

court of the hall, he saluted Pwyll and his companions. 'The grace of God be unto you, my soul,' said Pwyll, 'come and sit down.' 'I will not,' said he; 'a suppliant am I, and I will deliver my message.' 'Do so willingly,' said Pwyll. 'Lord,' said he, 'my message is for you, and it is to sue of you that I have come.' 'Whatsoever R.B. 13
request you may seek of me, so far as I am able, you shall have.' 'Och,' said Rhiannon, 'wherefore do you give an answer like that?' 'He has so given it, lady, in the presence of the *gwyrda*,' said the *macwy*. 'My soul,' said Pwyll, 'what is your petition?' 'The lady whom I love most you are to sleep with[62] this night; I have come to seek her, with the feast and preparations that are here.'

And Pwyll was silent, for he had no answer to give. 'Be silent as long as you will,' said Rhiannon; 'never was there a man so lacking in wit as you have been.' 'Lady,' said he, 'I knew not who he was.' 'Behold the man to whom they would have given me against my will,' said she, 'Gwawl, the son of Clud, a man rich in herds;[63] and since you have spoken the word you W.B. 21
have spoken, bestow me upon him to avoid shame to you.' 'Lady,' said he, 'I understand not what kind

[62] 'cysgu genthi' = to sleep with. See note 59 above. This is the common phrase for 'marriage'. Marriage was a legal, not a religious bond, and was secured by consummation following intention to live together as man and wife. The whole of the stories contain but one reference to a 'religious' ceremony. See Owein and Lunet.

[63] 'tormynnawc kyuoethawc'. The touch carries us very far back, when a man's wealth was counted in cattle, not in land.

of answer that is. Never can I do as you say.' 'Bestow me upon him,' said she, 'and I will arrange that he shall never have me.' 'By what means will that be,' said Pwyll. 'Into your hand will I give a small bag,' said she, 'keep it well; and he will ask of you the banquet, and the feast, and the preparations, which are not in your power, and I will give the feast unto the body-guard and the retinues,' said she, 'and such will be your answer concerning that. And as concerns myself,' said she, 'I will make an appointment with him to sleep with me[62] this night year. And at the end of the year be you here,' said she, 'and this bag with you, and yourself the hundredth horseman[60] in the orchard above. And when he is in the midst[64] of joy and carousing, come you in yourself, with needy garments on you, and the bag in your hand,' said she, 'and ask nothing but the bag full of food; and I', said she, 'will cause that if all the meat and liquor that are in these seven *cantrefi* were put into it, it would be no fuller
R.B. 14 than before.[65] And after a great deal has been thrown therein, he will ask you whether your bag will ever be
W.B. 22 full. You will say that it will not, except a man of noble birth and of great wealth arise and press the food in the bag with both his feet, saying, "Enough has been put therein"; and I will cause him to go and tread the food down in the bag, and when he goes, turn you the

64 R.B. 'kanawl'; W.B. 'perued'.

65 The magic bag, or receptacle, is a common feature of Welsh story. By a fascinating process of development, which deserves a special monograph, the magic bag grew into the myth of the Holy Grail.

bag, so that he shall go over his head into the bag, and then slip a knot upon the thongs of the bag. And let there be a good horn about your neck, and as soon as he shall be bound in the bag, sound your horn, and let that be a signal between you and your horsemen. When they hear the sound of the horn, let them come down upon the court.'

'Lord,' said Gwawl, 'it is high time that I had an answer to what I have asked.' 'As much as you have asked,' said Pwyll, 'as it is in my power, you shall have.' 'My soul,' said Rhiannon, 'as for the feast and the preparations that are here, I have given them to the men of Dyfed, and the body-guard, and the retinues that are here. These I do not promise[66] to give to any one. In a year from to-night a banquet shall be ready for you, my soul, in this court, to sleep with me.'[62]

So Gwawl proceeded to his dominions, and Pwyll himself came to Dyfed. And all of them passed that year until the time of the feast that was at the court of Hefeydd Hên. Gwawl, the son of Clud, came to the W.B. 23 feast that was prepared for him, and he proceeded to the court, and there was joy at his coming. Pwyll himself, the Chief of Annwn, came to the orchard, as the hundredth horseman,[60] as Rhiannon had commanded him, and the bag with him. And Pwyll clad himself in heavy rags, and put large clumsy clogs on his feet. And when he knew that they were at the beginning of the

[66] The 'eidawaf' of W.B. text makes it clear that the 'adawaf' of R.B.='eidawaf'='addawaf', i.e. promise, and not 'gadawaf' = suffer.

carousal after eating, he came straightway to the hall,
R.B. 15 and when he came into the court of the hall, he saluted Gwawl, the son of Clud, and his companions of men and women.

'God prosper you,' said Gwawl, 'and the grace of God be unto you.' 'Lord,' said he, 'may God reward you, I am a messenger unto you.' 'Welcome be your message,' said he, 'and if you ask a reasonable petition of me, you shall have it gladly.' 'It is reasonable, lord,' said he, 'I ask not but from want; and the request that I make is the filling of this small bag that you see with food.' 'A moderate petition is that,' said he, 'gladly shall you have it. Bring him food,' said he.

A great number of attendants arose and began to fill the bag, but for all that they put in it, it was no
W.B. 24 fuller than at first. 'My soul,' said Gwawl, 'will your bag be ever full?' 'It will not, between me and God,' said he, 'for all that may ever be put into it, unless one possessed of land and soil and dominions shall arise and tread down with both his feet the food within the bag, and shall say, "Enough has been put therein."' 'Oh, warrior[67] of mine,' said Rhiannon unto Gwawl, the son of Clud, 'rise up quickly.' 'I will willingly arise,' said he; and he arose, and put his two feet into the bag. And Pwyll turned the bag until Gwawl was over his head in the bag. And he closed the bag quickly,

[67] 'Geimat' (ceimad). See Professor Loth's note, p. 383, *Les Mabinogion*. The word comes from 'cam', a step; cf. 'keimeit' in Branwen. Anwyl gives meaning as 'comrade', 'pilgrim', 'warrior'.

and slipped a knot upon the thongs, and sounded his horn. And thereupon, behold, the bodyguard upon the court. And then they seized all of the retinue that had come with Gwawl, and cast them into his own prison.[68]

And Pwyll threw off his rags and his old shoes and his tattered array, and as every one of his retinue came in, they struck a blow upon the bag, and asked, 'What is here?' 'A badger,' said they. And in this manner they played. Each of them struck the bag, either with his foot or with a staff. And thus played they with the bag. Every one as he came in asked, 'What game are R.B. 16
you playing at thus?' 'The game of Badger in the bag,' said they. And then was 'Badger in the bag' first played.[69]

'Lord,' said the man in the bag, 'if you would but hear me, I was not fated to be killed in a bag.' 'Lord,' said Hefeydd Hên, 'he speaks truth. It is right for you W.B. 25
to listen to him; that is not the death destined for him.' 'Yea,' said Pwyll, 'I will do what you advise concerning him.' 'Behold, this is the advice for you,' said

[68] The exact meaning of this is obscure. Professor Loth suggests that the retinue was thrown into the bag. The phantasy of the suggestion would be quite in keeping with the spirit of the Mabinogion; and the language permits it also.

[69] The episode deserves comparison with Efnyssyen's treatment of the bags hung up in Matholwch's hall in the story of Branwen. There seems no doubt that both stories give currency to different versions of a common folk-story. We have been unable to find any one acquainted with the precise nature of the game of 'Badger in the bag', which seems to have persisted into the late Middle Ages.

Rhiannon then. 'You are now in a position in which it behoves you to satisfy suitors and minstrels; leave him there to give to all for you,'[70] said she, 'and take security from him that he will never claim aught or take vengeance for it. And that will be punishment enough for him.' 'He shall have that gladly,' said the man in the bag. 'And gladly will I accept it,' said Pwyll, 'with the counsel of Hefeydd and Rhiannon.' 'Such then is our counsel,' said they. 'I accept it,' said Pwyll; 'seek sureties[71] for yourself.' 'We will stand for him,' said Hefeydd, 'until his men may be free to stand for him.' And upon this he was let out of the bag, and his foremost men were liberated. 'Demand sureties now of Gwawl,' said Hefeydd, 'we know which should be taken from him.' And Hefeydd checked the sureties. Said Gwawl, 'Do you yourself draw up the agreement.' 'It will suffice me that it be as Rhiannon has drawn it up,'[72] said Pwyll. So the sureties agreed to that arrangement. 'Yea, lord,' said

[70] The phrasing is elliptical, and appears to imply, perhaps, 'leave him in the bag (until he promises) to give to all for you'.

[71] Nearly all contracts in early Welsh law were transacted through sureties, whose duty it was to see that the principal performed his contract; failing which, they themselves were bound to perform it. A surety could resile from his suretyship, when new ones were forthcoming. Hence the temporary nature of Hefeydd's suretyship.

[72] This is an evident trace of monastic influence. No writing was necessary for an agreement; nor, indeed, in early society would writing be usable as evidence of an agreement. Documentary record was introduced by the clerics, and Pwyll's contemptuous rejection of it doubtless echoes a consciousness that the audience of the reciter would have done the same.

Gwawl, 'I am wounded, and I have received great bruises. I need to be bathed;[73] with your leave I will go forth. I will leave *gwyrda* in my stead here to W.B. 26
answer to every one who shall ask of you.' 'Willingly,' said Pwyll, 'may you do so.' So Gwawl went towards his own dominions.

And then the hall was set in order for Pwyll and his retinue, and for the retinue of the court as well, and they went to the tables to sit down. And as they had R.B. 17
sat that night a year ago, so they all sat that night.[29] And they ate and feasted, and the time came to go to sleep, and Pwyll and Rhiannon went to their chamber, and that night they passed in pleasure and happiness.

And next morning, in the youth of the day, 'Lord,' said Rhiannon, 'arise and begin to satisfy the minstrels.[74] Refuse no one to-day who may ask for bounty.' 'That will I do gladly,' said Pwyll, 'both to-day and every day as long as this feast shall last.' So Pwyll arose, and he caused silence to be proclaimed for all the suitors and minstrels to appear and to be informed that each of them would be satisfied according to his wish and will. And that was done. And the feast was consumed, and no one was denied while it lasted.

And when the feast was ended, 'Lord,' said Pwyll

73 The bath played a prominent part in early Welsh life, and we have many references to it in these stories. Every 'tref' or settlement possessed a public one.

74 A typical touch which we find the reciter constantly repeating in these stories. The minstrels depended for their livelihood on the free gifts of their audience; and the audience is often reminded of what the reciter's heroes had done.

unto Hefeydd, ' with your permission I will set out for
W.B. 27 Dyfed to-morrow.' ' Certainly,' said Hefeydd, ' God speed you. Fix also a time and period for Rhiannon to follow you.'[75] ' Between me and God,' said Pwyll, ' we will go hence together.' ' Do you wish thus, lord?' said Hefeydd. ' Thus, between me and God,' said Pwyll.

And the next day they journeyed towards Dyfed, and they came to the court at Arberth, where a feast was ready for them. And there came to them a throng of the chief men and the chief ladies of the land and dominions, and neither man nor woman[76] of them did Rhiannon let go without giving them some worthy gift, either a bracelet, or a ring, or a precious stone. And they ruled the land prosperously that year and the second.

And in the third year the men of the land began to be sorrowful at seeing a man whom they loved so much,
R.B. 18 their lord and their foster-brother,[77] without off-

75 The general custom appears to have been for the bride, after marriage, to remain in her father's house for an undefined period, at the end of which she was escorted to the bridegroom's home. There were marriage feasts both at the time of the nuptials and on arrival at the husband's home. Cf. the story of Branwen.

76 R.B. reads ' none '.

77 Strange to say there are very few references, either in the Mabinogion or the Welsh laws, to ' fosterage '. The institution played a very important part in early Celtic society, and the tie of foster-brotherhood was much closer than that of natural brotherhood. Its origin is still obscure, and the available Welsh evidence throws little light on it. All that can be said for certain is that a superior was put out in fosterage with inferiors (never the converse), who, thereafter, gave unswerving support to their foster-relation.

spring.[78] And they asked him to meet them. And the place where they met was Presseleu in Dyfed. 'Lord,' said they, 'we know that you are not of the same age as some of the men of this country, and our fear is that you may not have offspring of the wife who is with you. Take, therefore, another wife,[79] of whom you may have offspring. You cannot', said they, 'endure for ever, W.B. 28
and though you desire to be thus, we will not suffer it of you.' 'Yea,' said Pwyll, 'we have not yet been together long, and many things may yet befall. Postpone this with me till the end of the year, and in a year from now we will fix a tryst to come together, and I will abide by your counsel.' So they fixed a time.

And before the completion of the time came,[80] a son

[78] The word 'etifedd', which we render as 'offspring', meant in old legal Welsh 'heir of the body', 'lineal descendant in the male line', to distinguish from 'cyt-etifedd', 'collateral relation'.

[79] Welsh custom permitted divorce, or rather separation which fructified into divorce by an act of re-marriage, for various definitely stated reasons. There is no mention, outside this story, of childlessness being a ground for divorce. It is remarkable to find it here; but the Mabinogion are so true to actual custom that this ground cannot be dismissed as fictitious. It was a common enough ground elsewhere, and is so to-day in certain tribally organized communities. We have here, possibly, a survival in story of a local custom, which was not incorporated in the codified laws as of general application. The interference of the 'gwyrda' is noteworthy; for, under old Welsh custom, the prince was not an arbitrary ruler. He had, even in his personal concerns, to administer according to recognized custom, of which the 'gwyrda' were, in many particulars, the guardians. We shall see frequent references in these stories to the taking of counsel.

[80] R.B. inverts the phrase thus: 'before the complete end of the time'.

was born unto him. And in Arberth was he born; and on the night that he was born, women were brought to watch the mother and the boy. The women slept with the mother of the boy, Rhiannon. And the number of the women that were brought into the chamber was six women. And they watched for a part of the night. Meanwhile, nevertheless, before midnight every one of them fell asleep, and towards cockcrow they awoke. And when they awoke, they looked where they had put the boy, and there was no trace of him there. 'Och!' said one of the women, 'the boy has been lost.' 'Yes,' said another, 'it would be a small vengeance to burn[81] or slay us for the child.' Said one of the women, 'Is there any advice in the world in this matter?' 'There is,' said another, 'I know good advice,' said she. 'What is that?' they said. 'There is here', said she, 'a stag-hound bitch, with pups with her. Let us kill some of the pups, and smear the blood on the face and hands of
W.B. 29 Rhiannon, and lay the bones in front of her, and insist that she herself destroyed her son; and she alone cannot
R.B. 19 oppose what we six insist upon.' And upon that counsel did they abide.

Towards day Rhiannon awoke. 'Women,' said she, 'where is my son?' 'Lady,' said they, 'ask us not for your son. We have nought but blows and bruises in struggling with you, and we are certain we never saw prowess in any woman as much as in you, and it was of

[81] The word used is 'lloski', burning; but it may signify 'branding' here. Neither burning nor branding were punishments recognized in early Wales. Branding was of Norman origin.

no avail for us to struggle with you. It is you yourself who destroyed your son. Claim him not of us.' 'Alas!' said Rhiannon, 'for the Lord God who knoweth all things, do not accuse me of falsehood. [God who knows all things knows that this is false.][2] If there be fear upon you, I confess to God I will protect you.' 'Truly,' said they, 'we will not permit evil on ourselves for any one in the world.' 'Alas!' said she, 'you shall receive no evil by telling the truth.' But for all her words, whether fair or piteous, she received but the one answer from the women.

Thereupon Pwyll, the chief of Annwn, arose, and his bodyguard and his retinues. And that accident could not be concealed. The story went throughout all the land, and all the *gwyrda* heard it. And the *gwyrda* came together to make representation to Pwyll, de- W.B. 30
manding of him that he should divorce his wife, because of the so impious outrage she had committed. This is the answer Pwyll gave, 'No cause is there for them to demand that I should divorce my wife,[82] save her having no offspring.[83] But offspring[83] we know she has had, and I will not divorce her; if she has done wrong, let her take her penance[84] for it.'

[82] The 'gwyrda' were, undoubtedly, stretching the law of divorce, and Pwyll was technically in the right. But the demand is of interest as illustrating how the rule of custom is expanded in order to meet new contingencies, not already provided for. Consensus, the solvent of custom, was for extension; but Pwyll, abiding by the strict letter of the law, prevailed.

[83] 'blant', lit. 'children'.

[84] Here again Pwyll is right. The impiety of the outrage makes it a 'moral' wrong, to be expiated by penance.

So Rhiannon summoned teachers and wise men, and as she preferred doing penance to contending with the women, she took her penance. And the penance that was imposed upon her was to be in that court in Arberth until the end of seven years, and to sit every day
R.B. 20 near to a mounting-block that was outside the gate. And to relate the whole story to all who should come there, who she thought did not know; and whosoever would allow her to carry them, to offer to carry guests and travellers upon her back into the court. But it was chance that any one let her do so. And thus did she spend part of the year.

Now at that time Teirnyon Twryf Fliant was Lord of Gwent Iscoed, and he was the very best man in the world. And in his house there was a mare, and there
W.B. 31 was neither horse nor mare in the kingdom more beautiful than it. And on the night of every first of May she foaled, and no one ever knew a single thing about its colt. And one night Teirnyon talked with his wife. 'Wife,' said he, 'we are unfortunate to have a foal of the mare every year without retaining[85] one of them.' 'What can be done in the matter?' said she. 'God's vengeance be upon me. To-night is the eve of the first of May,' said he, 'if I learn not what destruction it is that takes away the colts.'

So he caused the mare to be brought into a house, and he armed himself, and began to watch that night. And when it was the beginning of the night, the mare foaled a large and beautiful colt. And it stood up on the

[85] R.B. 'yn cadw'; W.B. 'yn gadu'.

spot. Then Teirnyon arose and looked at the fineness of the colt, and as he was doing so he heard a great tumult, and after the tumult, behold a great[2] claw through the window into the house, seizing the colt by the mane. Then Teirnyon drew his sword and struck off the arm at the elbow-joint, so that that portion of the arm, together with the colt, was inside with him. And thereupon a tumult and a scream were heard together. He opened the door and rushed out after the tumult. He could not see the tumult[86] because of the extreme darkness of the night, but he W.B. 32
rushed after it, and followed it. And he remembered R.B. 21
that he had left the door open, and he returned. And at the door, behold an infant boy in swaddling clothes, wrapped about in a mantle of brocaded silk. And he took up the boy, and behold the boy was very strong for the age that he was of. He locked the door, and went into the chamber where his wife was. 'Lady,' said he, 'are you asleep?' 'No, lord,' said she, 'I was asleep, but as you came in, I awoke.' 'Here is a boy for you,' said he, 'if you will have one that was never born to you.' 'Lord,' said she, 'what story is this?' 'Behold everything,' said Teirnyon; and he told her the whole incident. 'Yea, lord,' said she, 'what sort of garments are there upon the boy?' 'A mantle of brocaded silk,' said he. 'He is then a boy of gentle people,' she said. 'My lord,' said she, 'I would have mirth and delight, if you would allow it. I would admit my

[86] This personification of the 'tumult' is characteristically Celtic.

women into the secret with me, and tell them that I am pregnant.' 'I will readily agree for you to do that,' he said. And so was it done. They caused the boy to be baptized with the baptism[87] they used then, and the name which they gave him was Gwri Wallt Euryn, because there was upon his head hair as yellow as gold.

W.B. 33 The boy was nursed in the court until he was a year old. And before the year was over he could walk stoutly. And he was sturdier than a boy of three years old, even one of great growth and size. And the boy was nursed a second year, and then he was as sturdy as a child six years old. And before the end of the fourth year he would bargain with the grooms to allow him to take the horses to water.

'Lord,' said his wife unto Teirnyon, 'where is the colt which you rescued on the night that you found the boy?' 'I have handed it over to the grooms of the horses,' said he, 'and requested them to look after it.'

R.B. 22 'Would it not be well, lord,' said she, 'if you were to have it broken in, and given to the boy, seeing that on the same night that you found the boy, the colt was foaled, and you rescued it.' 'I will not oppose you in that,' said Teirnyon, 'I will allow you to give it him.' 'Lord,' said she, 'may God reward you; I will give it him.' So the horse was given to the boy, and she went to the ostlers and the grooms, and commanded

[87] Professor Rhys has remarked on this passage, which occurs also elsewhere, as an illustration of the broadness of mind of the monkish redactors. They recognize the story is not a Christian story, but are quite willing to give it some Christian adjuncts and to accept a pagan baptism.

them to be careful of the horse, and have it trained by the time that the boy could go riding on it, and to report progress.[88]

And in the midst of these things they heard stories of Rhiannon and her punishment. And Teirnyon Twryf Fliant, because of what he had found, listened to the stories and inquired closely about them, till W.B. 34 he heard from many of the multitude which came to the court the repetition of complaints about Rhiannon's mournful lot and punishment.

Then did Teirnyon ponder upon that, and he looked closely at the boy, and by reason of watching him, he thought that he had never beheld son so like his father as the boy was to Pwyll, Chief of Annwn. The appearance of Pwyll was well known to him, for he had previously been a man[37] to him. And therefore he grieved for the wrong in keeping with him a boy whom he knew to be the son of another man. And the first time that he was at leisure with his wife he told her that the boy was the son of Pwyll, the Chief of Annwn, and that it was not right for them to keep the boy with them, and thereby permit so heavy a punishment as there was on so excellent a lady as Rhiannon. And Teirnyon's wife agreed that they should send the boy to Pwyll. 'And three things, lord,' said she, 'shall we gain thereby: thanks and reward for releasing Rhiannon from the punishment that is on her, and thanks from Pwyll for

[88] 'a chwedyl wrthaw'. Professor Loth regards the words as superfluous and without meaning; but the sense appears to be that assigned in this translation.

R.B. 23 nursing his boy and restoring him to him, and thirdly, if the boy be of gentle nature, he will be our foster-son,[77] and he will do us the best he can do.' So on that counsel they abided.

W.B. 35 And no later than the next day Teirnyon equipped himself as the third horseman, and the boy as a fourth with them upon the horse which Teirnyon had given him. And they journeyed towards Arberth, and it was not long before they came to Arberth. When they came near to the court, they beheld Rhiannon sitting near the mounting-block. And when they came on a level with her, 'Sir,' said she, 'go not farther than this. I will carry every one of you as far as the court, and this is my penance for slaying my own son, and destroying him.' 'Oh, good lady,' said Teirnyon, 'I think not one of us here will go upon your back!' 'Let go who will,' said the boy, 'I will not go.' 'Truly, my soul,' said Teirnyon, 'nor will we go.'

They went forward to the court, and there was great joy at their coming. And they were beginning the enjoyment of a feast in the court because Pwyll had come from making a circuit[89] of Dyfed; and they went to the hall to wash, and Pwyll welcomed Teirnyon. They went to sit down. And thus they sat:[29] Teirnyon between Pwyll and Rhiannon, and Teirnyon's two companions above Pwyll, with the boy between them.

[89] 'o gylchaw Dyuet'. Part of the administrative machinery of early Wales was the system of tours (cylchau), conducted by the prince or lord through his dominions, during which, *inter alia*, he attended to governmental affairs. Reference to the practice is common in the stories.

And after finishing eating, at the very beginning of the carousal, they talked. And this is what Teirnyon spoke of. He told all about the story of the mare and the boy, W.B. 36
and how the boy had been under the protection[90] of Teirnyon and his wife, and how they had reared him. 'And see, here is your son, lady,' said Teirnyon, 'and whosoever spoke falsehood against you did wrong. And when I heard of the affliction that was on you, heavy was I, and I sorrowed. And I do not believe that there R.B. 24
is any one of all this retinue who does not recognize that the boy is the son of Pwyll,' said Teirnyon. 'There is none', said they all, 'who is not certain thereof.' 'Between me and God,' said Rhiannon, 'if that were true, it would be my deliverance from my anxiety.'[91] 'Lady,' said Pendaran Dyfed, 'well have you named your son Pryderi, and well becomes him Pryderi, son of Pwyll, Chief of Annwn.' 'Look you,' said Rhiannon,[92] 'will not his own name become him better?' 'What name has he?' said Pendaran Dyfed. 'Gwri Wallt Euryn is the name that we gave him.' 'Pryderi', said Pendaran

[90] 'ar y hardelw'. 'Arddelw', in its strict sense, is warranty or avouchment. An 'arddelwr' vouched for the conduct of another. Here it may imply that the boy had been under the protection and control of Teirnyon and his wife, who were thereby responsible for guaranteeing his conduct. The word occurs elsewhere in these stories with apparently that signification. 'Arddel' also means 'to own' or 'to acknowledge'; and Professor Anwyl renders the passage, 'and how the boy had been called after (i.e. acknowledged as the child of) Teirnyon and his wife'.

[91] 'pryder', anxiety, hence the name Pryderi.

[92] Both texts read 'Rhiannon'. Professor Loth suggests it is a mistranscript for 'Teirnyon'. There is something to be said for his conjecture.

Dyfed, 'shall his name be.' 'That is the better,' said Pwyll, 'for the boy to take his name from the word which his mother spoke when she received joyful tidings of him.' And thus it was arranged.

'Teirnyon,' said Pwyll, 'God reward you for rearing this boy until this time, and if he be a gentleman, it were fitting that he repay you for it.' 'Lord,' said Teirnyon, 'not a person in the world feels more sorrow after him than my wife, who has brought him up. It is well that he should bear in mind what I and
W.B. 37 this woman have done for him.' 'Between me and God,' said Pwyll, 'while I live, I will support you and your dominions, so long as I am able to preserve my own. And if he shall live, it will be more just for him to support you than for me. And if this counsel be yours and that of these *gwyrda*, since you have reared him up to the present time, I will give him in fosterage[77] to Pendaran Dyfed from henceforth. And you shall be companions and foster-fathers unto him.' 'That is fitting counsel,' said they all. So the boy was given to Pendaran Dyfed, and the *gwyrda* of the country joined company with him.

And Teirnyon Twryf Fliant and his companions set forth for his own country and dominions with love and
R.B. 25 affection. And he went not without being offered the fairest jewels and the best horses, and the choicest dogs; but he would take none of them. Then they all tarried in their own dominions. And Pryderi, the son of Pwyll, the Chief of Annwn, was brought up carefully as was fit, until he became the handsomest youth, and

the most comely, and the best skilled in all good qualities[93] of any in the kingdom.

And thus they passed years and years, until the end came to the life of Pwyll, the Chief of Annwn, and he died.

And Pryderi ruled over the seven *cantrefi* of Dyfed prosperously, beloved by his dominions and by all around him. And after that he acquired the three *cantrefi* of Ystrad Tywi, and the four *cantrefi* of Cere- W.B. 38
digion, and these are called the seven *cantrefi* of Seisyllwg. And Pryderi, the son of Pwyll, the Chief of Annwn, was occupied in that acquisition till it came into his mind to take a wife. And he chose as wife, Kicfa, the daughter of Gwynn Gohoyw, the son of Gloyw Wallt Lydan, the son of Casnar Wledig[94] of the princes of this island.

And thus ends this branch of the Mabinogion.

93 The word ' camp ', ' qualities ' or ' exploits ', implies skill in arms and warlike games.

94 ' Wledig '. The word ' gwledig ' was the Welsh equivalent of the old Roman ' Dux Brittanorum '. The duties of the latter, on the withdrawal of the Romans, were undertaken by a succession of chiefs, known in Welsh story as the ' gwledig '. The name implies a supreme authority over Britain.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO BRANWEN, THE DAUGHTER OF LLYR

THE tale of Branwen, the daughter of Llyr, is the second branch of the Mabinogi proper. There are two complete texts, that of the Red Book (pp. 26 to 43), and that of the White Book (cols. 38 to 61). In addition, there is a small fragment, reprinted on pp. 279–80 of the White Book, corresponding with part of R.B. 36–8 and W.B. 52–4, a fragment which Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans regards as amongst the oldest manuscript survivals. In regard to correspondence and differences, the same remarks apply, generally, to these texts as to the texts of 'Pwyll'.

'Branwen' is, perhaps, the most popular of all the old Welsh stories in Wales itself. It is linked to the other branches of the Mabinogi by the appearance, as a subsidiary character, of Pryderi, and by reference to the exquisite phantasy of the 'birds of Rhiannon', perhaps the most beautiful imagining of the old Welsh mind.

As one of the Mabinogi or 'enfances', it tells the 'enfance' of Gwern. The central point, however, of the story lies in the sufferings of Branwen in Ireland. All else leads up to that, or flows from it as a natural consequence. Branwen is the highest conception of tender womanhood the Celtic mind has produced. She was the 'Lady of Sorrows' of Welsh story; and that perhaps accounts for the great popularity of the

tale, even to-day, in a land which, till recently, was devoted to the memory of another 'Lady of Sorrows'.

'Branwen' is an invaluable mine for information as to the habits, customs, and even the law of old Wales; and in the way it handles historical and semi-historical characters, in defiance of all chronology, it illustrates that remarkable characteristic of the Celtic genius, which could seize on the past, etherealize it, and make a consistent and perfect romance out of scattered materials in that past.

In Continental romance Branwen appears as Bragwaine; but the whole beauty of the legend regarding her is there discarded, and she becomes a minor character of a not over-pleasing type. The Branwen of the Mabinogion is purely and entirely Welsh, and displays the creative faculty of Welsh romance at its very highest. As a mythological survival the material is of very great importance; but, here again, we must leave aside all discussion of the subject.

The scene is cast, in the main, in North Wales and Ireland; but, at the end, episodes from Pembroke, Cornwall, and London are introduced.

As a piece of constructive literary art we regard the story of 'Branwen' as one of the greatest things in literature. We know of few productions which equal it in constructive skill or poetical delicacy. It is full of episodes, some grim and fierce, some pathetic in their sadness; but each episode has its part to play in the general purpose, while the transition from one to the other is remarkably skilful in its weaving. There is no

sense of break between one and another as there is, for instance, in 'Pwyll'. One seems to follow naturally from the other; and the whole series of episodes combine to form a synthetic whole, whose moral, never thrust upon one in didactic form, runs like a golden thread throughout. Further, the imagery employed is unsurpassed in the literature of the day. There is a haunting beauty, the full magnificence of which grows upon one, more and more, as one reads and re-reads the tale, in such descriptions as those of the ships of Matholwch coming to land, the training of the starling, the sight of Bran rising out of the sea, the journeyings of the Venerable Head, and, perhaps most of all, in the song of Rhiannon's birds, which, we are told elsewhere, 'sang the dead into life and the living into the sleep of death', and in the figure of Caswallawn's Veil of Illusion, the mountain mist, under cover of which he slew the guardians of Edeyrnion.

We may be pardoned, therefore, if we look upon the legend of Branwen as one of the most perfect creations of the romantic mind of the Middle Ages. At any rate, we have no hesitation in placing it in the very front rank of Celtic literature.

BRANWEN, THE DAUGHTER OF LLYR

This is the second branch of the Mabinogi.[1] R.B. 26

BENDIGAID Frân, the son of Llyr, was the crowned king of this island, and exalted with the crown of London. And one afternoon he was at Harlech in Ardudwy in his court. And they were sitting upon the rock of Harlech, above the sea, and with him Manawydan, the son of Llyr, his brother, and two brothers by the same mother as himself, Nissyen and Efnissyen, and *gwyrda*[3] besides, as is seemly round a king. The two brothers of the same mother as himself were the sons of Euroswydd, by their mother Penarddim, the daughter of Beli, son of Mynogan. And one of these youths was a good youth. He preserved peace between the two factions,[4] when they were most wrathful, and this was Nissyen. The other caused strife between the brethren, when they were most at peace. W.B. 38

And as they were sitting thus, they saw thirteen ships coming from the south of Ireland, and making towards them, with a smooth, swift motion on them. The wind behind them was bringing them near rapidly. W.B. 39

'I see ships yonder,' said the King, 'coming swiftly

1 Not in W.B. 2 Not in R.B.

3 See note 33 to 'Pwyll'.

4 R.B. gives 'deulu' (mutation of 'teulu'), which Lady Guest translates incorrectly as 'family', vice bodyguard or household troops. W.B. gives 'deu lu' = 'two factions', which appears to be the correct reading, the two factions being the family of Llyr and the family of Euroswydd.

towards the land.[5] Command the men of the Court to dress themselves, and to go to see what thought is theirs.'

R.B. 27 The men dressed themselves and approached them down below. And when they saw the ships near, they were certain that they had never seen ships better equipped in appearance than they. Beautiful, seemly, brave[2] banners of brocaded silk were upon them. And thereupon, behold one of the ships came on before the others, and they saw a shield hoisted above the deck of the ship, and the point of the shield upwards, in token of peace.[6]

And the men drew near them that they might hear each other talk. They put out boats and came towards the land. And they saluted the King. The King heard them from the place where he was, upon the high rock above their heads. 'God prosper you,' said he, 'and be ye welcome. To whom does this throng of ships belong, and who is the chief over them?' 'Lord,' said they, 'Matholwch, King of Ireland, is here, and he it is to whom the ships belong.' 'What seeks he,' said the King, 'and will he come to land?' 'He will not, lord,'

W.B. 40 said they, '—he is a suitor unto you—unless he obtains his quest.' 'And what is his quest?' said the King. 'He seeks a relationship with you by marriage,[7] lord,' said they. 'He comes to ask for Branwen, the daughter

5 W.B. 'yn hy parth ar tir'; R.B. 'yn ebrwyd parth ar tir'.

6 This was the ordinary custom of all early sea-rovers.

7 'Mynnu ymgyfathrachu'. Cf. 1 Kings iii. 1. 'A Salomon a ymgyfathrachodd â Pharaoh brenhin yr Aipht, ac a briododd ferch Pharaoh.' 'And Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter.'

of Llyr. And, if it seem well to you, he wishes to bind together the Island of the Mighty [8] and Ireland, so that they may be more powerful.' 'Yea,' said he, 'let him come to land, and we will take counsel thereupon.' And this answer went unto him. 'I will go willingly,' said he. So he came to land, and they welcomed him; and there was a great throng in the court that night, between his retinues and the retinues of the court. Straightway next day they took counsel. This is what was decided in that council; to give[9] Branwen to Matholwch. And she was the third chief lady in this island.[10] She was the fairest maiden in the world. R.B. 28

And an appointment was made that he should sleep with her[11] at Aberffraw. And they set out thence, and towards Aberffraw these retinues set forth; Matholwch and his retinues in the ships; Bendigaid Frân and his retinues by land until they came to Aberffraw.

At Aberffraw they began the feast[12] and sat down. This is how they sat:[13] the King of the Island of the Mighty and Manawydan, the son of Llyr, on one side of him, and Matholwch on the other side, and Branwen, the daughter of Llyr, along with him. They were not within a house, but in tents. Bendigaid Frân had never been contained within a house. And they began the W.B. 41 carousal. And they kept up the carousal and converse.

[8] 'Ynys y Kedyrn'. A common title in old Welsh for the isle of Britain.

[9] See note 58 to 'Pwyll'.

[10] The Triad referred to here has not survived.

[11] See note 62 to 'Pwyll'.

[12] See note 59 to 'Pwyll'.

[13] See note 29 to 'Pwyll'.

And when they saw it was better for them to get slumber than to continue to carouse, they went to sleep, and that night Matholwch slept with Branwen.[14]

And next day all of the retinue of the court arose, and the officers began to treat about the apportionment[15] of the horses and the grooms, and they apportioned them in every quarter as far as the sea.[16]

And thereupon, one day behold Efnissyen, the quarrelsome man of whom we have spoken above, made straight for the quarters of Matholwch's horses, and asked who owned the horses. 'They are the horses of Matholwch, King of Ireland,' said they. 'What are they doing here?' said he. 'The King of Ireland is here. He has slept with Branwen,[11] your sister, and these are his horses.' 'And is it thus that they have done with so good a maiden as she, and my sister, giving her without my consent? They could have done no greater insult to me than this,'[17] said he. And thereupon he stabbed the

[14] R.B. reads 'Matholwch and Branwen slept together'.

[15] 'ymaruar am rannyat'. Lit. as rendered. It appears to imply that there was a discussion about the place for picketing the horses and grooms.

[16] We would have liked to render this 'and they picketed them along the seashore in every direction'; but we have no evidence that 'hyd' ever carried the sense of 'along' unless preceded by 'ar'.

[17] As noted in note 58 to 'Pwyll', the right of giving in marriage was vested in the nearest male relatives of the maid. The point of the story here is that Efnissyen, as a half-brother on the mother's side, claimed that he should have been consulted. In strict law, it is more than doubtful if he had any right, for the power to bestow, subject to the woman's consent, was an agnatic right. But that cognates at an earlier stage had a right to be consulted is clear from the story of Kulhwch and Olwen, *quod vide*.

horses underneath,[18] and cut off their lips to the teeth, and their ears to their heads, and their tails to their R.B. 29
backs, and he cut to the bone such of the horses whose eyelids he could not get a hold of. Thus did he disfigure the horses, till there was no strength or power in the horses.

And tidings came to Matholwch. Thus came it. They told of the disfigurement of the horses and their W.B. 42
destruction till there was no advantage or power in them. 'Yea, lord,' said one, 'ignominies have been wrought upon you. And this it is desired to do to you.' 'Of a truth, it is a marvel to me, if they desired ignominies upon me, that they gave me a maid of such high rank and so much beloved of her kin as they have given me.' 'Lord,' said another, 'you see the clear proof that it is so,[19] and there is nothing for you to do but to go to your ships.' And thereupon he sought his ships.

And tidings came to Bendigaid Frân that Matholwch was quitting the court, without asking and without[2] leave. And messengers went to inquire of him why that was so. These are the messengers who went; Iddic ap Anarawc and Hefeydd Hir. These men overtook him and asked what his preparations were, and for what reason he was going away. 'Of a truth,' said he, 'were it that I knew it, I would not have come hither.

[18] 'ac yn hynny gwan y dan y meirch'. The rendering is, perhaps, dubious. Lit. the passage can be rendered 'he rushed underneath the horses'. 'Gwan', however,=a stab; and the action of ham-stringing seems appropriate to the story.

[19] R.B. 'dangos mae ef'; W.B. 'dangos ef'.

Thorough insult have I suffered; no one had ever worse treatment than I have had here. And I have met with a marvel here.' 'What is that?' said they. 'The giving to me of Branwen, the daughter of Llyr, the third chief lady of this island, and the daughter of the King of the Island of the Mighty, and sleeping with her, and, after that, ignominies upon me. And I marvel that the
W.B. 43 ignominy which has been done to me was not wrought before the giving of such a maid as she to me.' 'Truly, lord, it was not through the will of any who has authority at the court,' said they, 'nor of any that are of the council that this ignominy was done to you. And though you consider yourself insulted
R.B. 30 thereby, yet Bendigaid Frân feels more than you from that insult and trick.' 'Yea,' said he, 'I think so too. Nevertheless, he cannot remove my shame thereby.'

These men returned with that answer to the place where Bendigaid Frân was, and they told him the reply that Matholwch had spoken.[20] 'Yea,' said he, 'there is no means of preventing his going away in that hostile mood; yet we will not allow him.' 'Yea, lord,' said they, 'send after him messengers once more.' 'I will send,' said he. 'Arise, Manawydan, son of Llyr, and Hefeydd Hir, and Unic Glew Ysgwydd, and go after him,' said he, 'and tell him that he shall have a sound horse for every one of those mutilated. And besides that, as atonement for himself, he shall have a staff of silver, which shall be as thick and as tall as himself, and

[20] R.B. 'given'.

a plate of gold as broad as his face.[21] And tell him what sort of man did this, and that it is against my will it was done, and that he who did it is my brother, of the same mother, and it is not easy for me to slay or harry him.[22] And let him come and visit me,' said he, 'and I will make peace[23] in the fashion he himself wishes.' W.B. 44

The messengers went after Matholwch and told him these sayings in a friendly manner, and he listened thereto. 'Men,' said he, 'we will take counsel.' He went into the council, and this is the counsel they thought of. If they rejected it, they were more likely to get a bigger disgrace than to get a reparation that was greater. He resolved to accept this, and they came to the court peacefully.[24]

The pavilions and tents were set in order for them on

[21] The R.B. text spells the word for 'atonement', 'wyneb-warth'; the W.B. text uses 'wynebwerth'. Both forms are found in the Welsh laws. 'Wyneb-warth'=face-shame; 'wynebwerth'=face-value. In the former case it signifies the insult itself, for which compensation had to be paid; in the latter the compensation. It equals the word 'sarhad'. See note 14 to 'Pwyll'. The particular compensation detailed in this passage was, under the Laws, payable only to one of the kings with a 'royal seat' in Wales; that is to say, Brân offers Matholwch the highest amends known to law.

[22] Strictly speaking, 'slaying and harrying' was permissible only in revenge for murder, and then only when the fixed compensation was not paid. Moreover, the process of harrying and slaying was between the kin of the injurer and the kin of the injured; and Brân points out to Matholwch the difficulty he is in by reason of his kinship with the offender.

[23] 'tangneued'=terms of peace.

[24] 'yn dangneuedus'; i.e. not merely 'peacefully', but 'having accepted the terms of peace'.

the pattern[25] of a hall ; and they went to eat ; and as they had begun to sit at the commencement of the feast,[26] so they sat then.[13] And Matholwch began to converse
R.B. 31 with Bendigaid Frân. And behold Matholwch, in Bendigaid Frân's thought, was apathetic in conversation and sad,[27] because of the shame he had suffered, whereas previous to that he had been always cheerful. And he thought that the smallness of the atonement, which he had obtained for the wrong done, made the chieftain sorrowful. 'Oh, man,' said Bendigaid Frân, 'you are not as good a talker to-night as the other night. And if it is because of the smallness of your compensation, you shall have it augmented,[28] according to your own will, and to-morrow I will pay you the horses.' 'Lord,' said he, 'God reward you.' 'And I will augment the atonement to you also,' said Bendigaid Frân. 'I will give you a cauldron,[29] and the property of

[25] 'ar ureint'. 'Braint' has also the special signification of 'status', 'privilege', 'dignity'. The passage implies that the feast in the tents had exactly the same dignity as a feast in 'hall'.

[26] i.e. the marriage-feast. See notes 44 and 59 to 'Pwyll'.

[27] 'ac nachaf yn ardiawc gan vendigeit uran yn ymdidan ac yn drist am y warth a gaei gan vatholwch'. Or 'and behold, sluggish and sad was the conversation which he had from Matholwch'.

[28] 'Augmentation'. Both Welsh and Irish law, in addition to fixing standard rates of compensation for insult, according to rank, provided that, in certain circumstances, these rates could be augmented. Throughout this episode, Brân's desire to make atonement is emphasized; for, in addition to offering amends payable only to a king with a seat in Wales, he now offers to augment even that. This adds further point to Brân's determination to avenge Branwen later in the story.

[29] We are here introduced to the great 'cauldron', later called

the cauldron is that if a man be slain to-day, and be cast into the cauldron, by to-morrow he will be as well as he was at the best, except that he will not have the power of speech.' And he gave him thanks therefor, and became very joyful on that account. W.B. 45

And the next morning they paid him the horses as long as the trained horses lasted. And from there they set out with him to another *cymwd*,[30] and they paid him colts until the whole had been paid, and, for that reason, that *cymwd* was called Talebolion.[31]

And a second night they sat together. 'Lord,' said Matholwch, 'whence came to you the cauldron which you have given me?' 'It came to me', said he, 'from a man who had been to your land; and I know not whether it was there that he found it.' 'Who was that?' said he. 'Llassar Llaesgyfnewid,' he said, 'and he

the 'cauldron of regeneration', which plays an important part in Celtic myth. It is sometimes referred to as the 'cauldron of inspiration', the origin of all poetry and arts. It is generally associated with deep waters, e.g. Llyn Tegid (Bala Lake); and it seems also to be connected with the 'mwys', which developed into the Holy Grail.

[30] 'Cymwd'. Anglice 'commote'. The administrative unit of ancient Wales, two or more of which formed the 'cantref'. The unit still survives in petty sessions divisions and rural deaneries to some extent, and territorial boundaries of the ancient cymydau are very well known to the people to-day.

[31] 'they paid him colts'='talwyt (fr. talu) ebolion'. The cymwd of Talebolion or Talybolion is in Anglesea. In Talebolion, 'tal'=edge, corner, end; and 'y Bolion' probably represents the name of a clan, plural of 'bol', Irish 'bolg'. Cf. Rhos-y-bol in Anglesea. The derivation of the name given in the story is fanciful, and is one of the many instances in these stories of an onomastic tale.

came here from Ireland, and Kymidei Kymeinfoll, his wife, with him. And they escaped from an Iron House in Ireland, when it was made white-hot[1] around them, and they escaped therefrom. And it is surprising to me should you know nothing about this.'

'I do know, lord,' said he, 'and as much as I know I will tell you. One day I was hunting in Ireland, on
R.B. 32 top of a mound which is at the head of a lake[32] in Ireland. And it is called the Lake of the Cauldron. And I beheld a huge, reddish-yellow-haired man coming from the lake with a cauldron upon his back. And he was a merciless man, big, and of horrid appear-
W.B. 46 ance. And a woman behind him. And if he were tall, twice as large as he was the woman; and they came towards me and greeted me. "Yea," said I, "what journey are you upon?" "Behold, lord, the kind of[1] journey we are upon," said he. "This woman, at the end of a fortnight and a month, will conceive, and the child that shall be born then from that conception at the end of a fortnight and a month will be a warrior fully armed." I took it upon me to give them sustenance. And they were with me for a year. And for a year I kept them ungrudgingly. Thereafter objection was raised. And before the end of the fourth month,[1] they

[32] 'uwch pen llyn'. Translated literally. In W.B. it is 'uch i pen llyn', which could read 'above Penllyn'. The name Penllyn is applied, in Wales, to the country at the head of Llyn Tegid; one of the lakes specifically identified, in Welsh legend, with the great cauldron. Possibly the narrator had this fact in his mind at the time.

themselves were making themselves hated and unkeepable[33] in the land, committing insults and molesting and harassing the *gwyrda* and ladies. Thereafter my subjects rose up against me, to demand that I should part with them, and gave me the choice between my dominions and them. I referred to the council of the country what should be done about them. They would not go willingly, neither could they be forced to go against their will because of their fighting prowess. And then, in straits, they took counsel to make a chamber all of iron. And when the chamber was ready, every smith that was in Ireland, who owned tongs and hammer, was summoned there. And they caused charcoal to be piled as high as the top of the chamber. And they had the woman and the man and the children served with W.B. 47
plenty of meat and drink; and when it was known that they were intoxicated, they began to put fire to the charcoal on top of the chamber, and to blow the bellows R.B. 33
[which had been placed round the house with a man to each two bellows, and they started to blow the bellows][2] until the house was white-hot on top of them. And then there was deliberation among them in the centre of the floor of the chamber. And he stayed there until the plates of iron were white; and, by reason of the great heat, he made for the plates with his shoulder, and broke

33 ' ac aghynnwys yn y wlat '. ' Anghynnwys ' is the negative of ' cynnwys '=(as a verb) to contain, (as an adjective) contained. The meaning here is that they ' made themselves hated and difficult to retain in the land because of their insults to the ' gwyrda and ladies '. ' Anghynnwys ' has also the further meaning of ' incontinent '.

out through them. And after himself, his wife; and except he and his wife none escaped thence. And then, I suppose, lord,' said Matholwch to Bendigaid Frân, 'he came over to you.' 'Certainly,' said he, 'he came here, and gave me the cauldron.' 'What treatment, lord, did you accord them?' 'I distributed them in every place in the dominions, and their numbers have multiplied, and they are prospering everywhere, and they strengthen the places where they are with the best men and arms that any one ever saw.'[34]

That night they continued to discourse as long as it seemed good to them, with songs and carousing; and when they saw it was more profitable for them to go to sleep than to sit longer, they went to sleep. And thus
W.B. 48 was the banquet carried on with joyfulness; and at the end of it, Matholwch set out towards Ireland, and Branwen with him, and their thirteen ships started from Aber Mcnai, and came to Ireland.

In Ireland there was great joy on their account. Not one nobleman or good lady in Ireland came to visit Branwen to whom she gave not either a clasp, or a ring, or a treasured royal jewel, such as it was worthy to be seen departing with.[35] And in these things she spent that year in much renown, and she passed a happy time, enjoying honour and friendship.

And it chanced that, in that time, she became preg-

34 We probably have here a reference to the hill-forts of Wales, many of which are associated with Goidelic occupation.

35 'a uei arbennic y welet yn mynet ymeith'. Lit. 'to see which going away was a notable sight'. Cf. the gifts with those given by Rhiannon, in 'Pwyll'.

nant, and having passed through the due time, a son was born to her. This is the name that they gave him; Gwern, the son of Matholwch. They gave the boy in fosterage[36] in the place where were the best men in R.B. 34
Ireland.[37]

And then, in the second year, behold a tumult in Ireland, on account of the ignominy which Matholwch had suffered in Cymru, and the evil deceit that had been done to him on the horses. And then his foster-brothers[36] and the men nearest[38] to him twitted him therefor without concealment. And behold in Ireland a tumult, until there was no rest for him unless he took revenge for the insult. This is the vengeance which they took; to drive Branwen away from the same chamber with him, and to compel her to bake in the court, and to cause the butcher, after he had chopped up the meat, to come against her, and give her every day a blow on the ear; and such was her punishment W.B. 49
made.

'Yea, lord,' said the men to Matholwch, 'forbid now the ships and the ferry-boats[39] and the coracles,

[36] See note 77 to 'Pwyll'.

[37] 'yn un lle goreu y wyr yn Iwerdon'. 'y' has three separate meanings in Med. Welsh: 'the', 'his', and 'to' or 'for'. The passage can therefore be also rendered, 'in the best place for men (i.e. to be nurtured) in Ireland'.

[38] 'ar rei nessaf ganthaw'. We have rendered the words literally, but 'those nearest a man' implies 'the nearest relatives'. The 'near relatives' of a king were those attached to the court, living on the bounty of the king, and, as such, possessed of a special 'braint' or status.

[39] 'ysgraff'.

so that no one may go to Cymru, and such as come over from Cymru hither imprison them so that they go not back, lest this be known.' And they agreed to this.

And not less than three years they continued thus. During this time she reared a starling on the top of a kneading trough, and she taught it to speak, and explained to the bird what manner of man her brother was. And she wrote a letter[40] of her woes and the dishonour that was upon her; and she fastened the letter under the bird's wing, and sent it towards Cymru.

And the bird came to this island. This is where it found Bendigaid Frân; in Caer Seint[41] in Arfon, holding his court of justice[42] one day, and it alighted upon his shoulder, and ruffled its feathers, so that the letter was seen, and they knew that the bird had been reared in a dwelling-place. And then he took the letter and examined it.

And when he had read the letter, Bendigaid Frân grieved at hearing of the woe that was on Branwen. And he began to cause messengers to be sent[43] from that place to make a levy throughout this island. And then he caused to come to him a diet [44] of seven score and

[40] 'dwyn llythyr'. The word 'dwyn' literally means 'to bring'; but the word is used in the Welsh Laws, on more than one occasion, in the sense of 'urging' a complaint, 'urging' testimony, and the like. The meaning of the phrase, therefore, here appears to mean 'she made formal complaint of her woes, &c., in a letter'. Cf. 'litteras ferre'.

[41]. Segontium, the Roman fort near Caernarvon.

[42] 'dadleu'.

[43] R.B. 'send messengers'.

[44] 'llwyrwys'.

fourteen[45] districts,[46] and he complained to it himself R.B. 35
of the grief that was upon his sister. And then they took counsel. This was the counsel they took: to go to Ireland, and to leave seven men as princes here, and Caradawg, the son of Brân, the chief, and his seven knights. W.B. 50
These were left in Edeyrnion. And for this reason was the name Saith Marchawg given to the village.[47] These were the seven: Caradawg the son of Brân, and Hefeydd Hir, and Unic Glew Ysgwydd, and Iddic, the son of Anarawc Gwalltgrwn, and Ffodor, the son of Erfyll, and Gwlch Minascwrn, and Llasnar, the son of Llaesar Llaesgygwydd, and Pendaran Dyfed as a young lad with them. And these seven abode as seven administrators to look after this island, and Caradawg, the son of Brân, the supreme ruler over them.

Bendigaid Frân, with the retinue of which we spoke, sailed towards Ireland, and the sea was not wide, so he came to shallow water. There were but two rivers, the Lli and the Archan were they called; and thereafter the ocean became more extended, when the sea overflowed the kingdoms.[48] And then he proceeded with what of

45 R.B. has 'seven-score and four'. At the end of the story in R.B. are 'seven-score and ten'; but W.B. retains the 'seven-score and fourteen'. Possibly due to some confusion in the transcriber's mind between the short (10) and the long (12) ten.

46 'gwlat', district or country. It is the exact equivalent of the Med. legal Latin 'patria'.

47 This paragraph is mistranslated by Lady Guest. 'Saith Marchaug' is the name still applied to a hillock in Edeyrnion (part of Merioneth between Bala and Corwen).

48 R.B. reads 'and thereafter the ocean extended its kingdoms'.

bards[49] there were upon his back, and he reached the land of Ireland.

And the swineherds of Matholwch were upon the seashore [one day tending their swine. And because of the sight that they saw upon the sea,[2]] they came to Matholwch. 'Lord,' said they, 'greeting.' 'God prosper you,' said he, 'have you any tidings?' 'Lord,' said they, 'we have marvellous tidings. A wood have we seen upon the waves, in a place where we never yet saw a single tree.' 'Behold, a thing of wonder,' said he. 'Saw you aught else but this?' 'We saw, lord,' said
W.P. 51 they, 'a vast mountain close beside the wood, and it in motion, and a high ridge on the mountain, and a lake on either side of the ridge. And the wood, and the mountain, and all of those things on the move.' 'Yea,'
R.B. 36 said he, 'there is none here who knows aught concerning this, unless Branwen knows. Ask her.'

Messengers went unto Branwen. 'Lady,' said they, 'what think you that this is?' ['Although I am no longer a lady,' said she, 'I know what it is.'[2]] The men of the Island of the Mighty coming through on hearing of my ill-treatment and woes.' 'What is the wood that is seen upon the sea?' said they. 'Masts of ships and yard-arms,' she said. 'Och,' said they, 'what was the mountain that was seen by the side of the ships?' 'Bendigaid Frân, my

[49] The words in the text are 'o gerd arwest'. 'Cerdd arwest' means 'music made on strings', i.e. minstrelsy, as contrasted with 'cerdd dafod', poetic song. Professor Anwyl translated 'minstrels' or 'bards'.

brother,' she said, 'was that, coming to the shallows; there was no ship that could contain him in it.' 'What was the lofty ridge and the lake on each side of the ridge?' 'He,' said she, 'looking on this island, is angry; and his two eyes, one on each side of his nose, are the two lakes on each side of the ridge.'

Then all the warriors of Ireland were summoned together speedily and all the admirals,[50] and they took counsel. 'Lord,' said the *gwyrda* unto Matholwch, 'there is no counsel save to retreat through the Llinon[51] (a river which is in Ireland), and to leave the Llinon between you and him, and to break the bridge that is across the river. There is a loadstone[52] at the bottom W.B. 52
of the river, so that neither ship nor vessel can go upon it.' They retreated through the river, and broke down the bridge.

Bendigaid Frân came to land, and the fleet with him to the side of the river bank. 'Lord,' said the *gwyrda*, 'you know the magic quality of this river; no one can go through it, and there is no bridge over it either. What is your counsel concerning a bridge?' said they. 'There is none,' said he, 'save that he who Text B.279
would be chief must be a bridge. I will be a bridge,' said he. And then was that saying first uttered, and it is still cited as a proverb.

[50] Both texts read 'uorbennyd'. In his Dictionary J. B. Anwyl gives 'morbennydd' as 'headlands', which would make this passage, 'on the headlands'. We are not satisfied that that is the real meaning. We think that 'morbennydd' = sea-chiefs, admirals. Possibly the word may be the plural of 'mawr ben' = chiefs.

[51] 'The Shannon'. [52] 'meinsugyn'; lit. a sucking-stone.

And then, after he had lain down across the river, hurdles were placed upon him, and his hosts came through over him.

And then, as he rose up, behold messengers of
R.B. 37 Matholwch coming to him, and saluting him, and with greeting from Matholwch, his kinsman, and showing that, as far as his will was concerned, he merited nothing but good. 'And Matholwch', said they, 'is giving the kingship of Ireland to Gwern, the son of Matholwch, your nephew and your sister's son;[53] and is handing him over[54] in your presence in reparation for the wrong and outrage done to Branwen. And wheresoever you will, lord, either here or in the Island of the Mighty, do you support Matholwch.' 'Yea,' said Bendigaid Frân, 'unless I myself shall obtain the
W.B. 53 kingdom, peradventure I shall take counsel concerning your message. Henceforth, until something better shall come, no answer shall you get from me.' 'Yea,' said they, 'the best answer we can obtain for you we will bring, and do you await our message.' 'I will wait,' answered he, 'return you straightway.'[55]

53 It has been frequently suggested that this refers to the practice among many early societies, including the Picts, of descent from a man to his sister's son. Save, however, this passage, there is no reference in old Welsh law or literature to such a practice in Wales. The use of the mother's name, instead of the father's, in describing the parentage of a person, which is common in these stories, is not quite on the same footing.

54 R.B. and Text B. 'estynnu'; W.B. 'ystynnu'. In legal Med. Welsh 'estyn' is equivalent to 'investiture'; and is commonly used in that sense. See, e.g., 'gobr estyn' = investiture fee. The passage here may mean 'formally investing'.

55 W.B. 'quickly'.

The messengers set forth, and came to Matholwch. 'Lord,' said they, 'prepare an answer which shall be better for Bendigaid Frân. He would not listen to any of the answer that went with us to him.' 'My men,' said Matholwch, 'what is your counsel?' 'Lord,' said they, 'there is no other counsel for you but one. He was never contained in a house,' said they. 'Make Text B.280 him a house,' said they, 'in his honour,[2] that will hold him and the men of the Island of the Mighty in one side of the house, and yourself and your armed host in the other, and give over your kingship to his will, and do him homage. So by reason of the honour in making the house,' said they, 'since he never before had a house to contain him, he will come to terms[23] with you.'

So the messengers came back to Bendigaid Frân, with that message with them. And he took counsel, and it was resolved in council to accept this. And all this was done by the advice of Branwen, and to avoid the destruction of the country had she that (advice).

And that condition of peace[23] was carried out, and R.B. 38 the house was built both vast and strong. And the Irish concocted a ruse. This is the ruse they concocted: to put pegs on each side of every pillar of the hundred W.B. 54 pillars that were in the house, and to place a leathern bag on every one of the pegs,[56] and an armed man in every one of them.

Then Efnissyen came in before the host of the Island of the Mighty, and cast fierce and merciless looks

[56] Text B only. R.B. and W.B. have 'each peg'.

all over the house, and he descried the leathern bags along the posts. 'What is in this bag?' said he to one of the Irish. 'Flour, my soul,' said he. Then he felt about until he caught the head; and he squeezed the head until he felt his fingers meet together in the brain through the bone. And he left that one and put his hand upon another, and asked, 'What is there here?'

End of Text B 'Flour,' said the Irishman. So he played the like game on every one of them, until he had not left a man alive of all the two hundred men, save one, and he came to him and asked, 'What is there here?' 'Flour, good soul,' said the Irishman. And he felt about until he found the head, and as he had squeezed the heads of the others, he squeezed that head. Although he felt armour on that head, he left him not until he had killed him. And then he sang an 'englyn':[57]

> 'There is in this bag many a kind of flour,
> Comrades, warriors about to descend into battle,
> At the head of companions[58] ready for battle.'

Thereupon the retinues came into the house. The
W.B. 55 men of the Island of Ireland came into the house from the one side, and the men of the Island of the Mighty from the other. And immediately they had sat down there was concord between them, and the kingship was

[57] 'Englyn'. A particular type of alliterative Welsh stanza. The succeeding verse is in older language than the prose version. Perhaps it is a remnant of an earlier metrical version of the tales. Save, however, the few 'englynion' in the tales, we have no evidence justifying the conclusion that there was such a metrical version.

[58] 'Kytwyr', 'kydwyr'. 'Kydwr', pl. 'kydwyr' = a rival; but apparently the word should be 'katwyr' = warriors.

conferred upon the boy. When the terms of the peace[23] had been completed, Bendigaid Frân called the boy to him, and from Bendigaid Frân the boy went to Manawydan, and all that beheld him loved him. And R.B. 39 from Manawydan, Nissyen, the son of Euroswydd, called the boy to him. The boy went to him happily. 'Wherefore', said Efnissyen, 'does not my nephew, the son of my sister, come to me? Even if he were not King of Ireland, I would be glad to be on good terms with him.' 'Cheerfully let him go,' said Bendigaid Frân; and the boy went to him cheerfully. 'God, to whom I confess,' said he in his mind, 'quite inconceivable by the family is the outrage I shall do this hour.' And he arose without delay, and took the boy by the feet, and before any one in the house could seize hold of him, he hurled the boy headlong into the blazing fire.

And when Branwen saw her son being burnt in the fire, she strove to leap into the fire from the place where she was sitting between the two brothers. And Bendigaid Frân grasped her with one hand, and his shield with the other. Then every one throughout the house W.B. 56 arose, and behold, the greatest tumult that ever was by the retinue of one house. Every one seized his arms. Then said Morddwydtyllyon, 'Gwern gwngwch uiwch Forddwydtyllyon'.[59] And when every one quickly seized his arms, Bendigaid Frân supported Branwen between his shield and his shoulder.

[59] Many suggestions have been made as to the meaning of this ejaculation; but the riddle is still unsolved. The names 'Gwern'

Then the Irish began to kindle a fire under the cauldron of regeneration, and the dead bodies were cast into the cauldron until it was full, and next day, in the morning,[2] they arose, fighting men as good as before, except that they were not able to speak. Then when Efnissyen saw that the dead bodies of the men of the Island of the Mighty were not being reanimated anywhere, it came into his thought, 'Oh, God,' said he, 'woe is me that I have been the cause of this destruction of the men of the Island of the Mighty. Evil betide me', said he, 'if I find not a deliverance from this.' And he wallowed among the dead bodies of the
R.B. 40 Irish; and two unshod Irishmen came upon him, and flung him into the cauldron, in the guise of an Irishman.[60] And he stretched himself out in the cauldron, till he rent the cauldron into four fragments, and burst his own heart also.

And as an outcome of that came such victory as there was to the men of the Island of the Mighty. There was no victory from it save the escape of seven men; and Bendigaid Frân was wounded in the foot by a poisoned dart.[61] These are the seven men that escaped:
W.B. 57 Pryderi, Manawydan, Glivieu[62] Eil Taran, Taliesin,

and 'Morddwydtyllyon' seem clear; but no definite meaning can be assigned to 'gwngwch uiwch'. The passage may be corrupt. 'Gwngwch' may be an Irish word in origin, corrupted in its journey into Welsh. We are not prepared to add another conjecture to the many in the field.

[60] i.e., under the impression he was an Irishman.

[61] 'gwaew'. The word also means a spear, and in the later stories is used for lance frequently.

[62] R.B. mistranscribes 'Glivieri'.

Ynawc, Grudieu, the son of Muriel, Heilyn, the son of Gwynn Hên.

And then Bendigaid Frân caused them to cut off his head. 'And take you the head', said he, 'and bear it to Gwynfryn[63] in London, and bury it there with the face towards France. And a long time will you be upon the road. In Harlech you will be feasting seven years, the birds of Rhiannon singing to you. And the head will be to you as good company as it ever was at its best to you when it was on me. And at Gwales in Penfro you will be fourscore years, and unless you open the door towards Aber Henfelen and towards Cornwall, you may remain there, and the head with you uncorrupted. And after you open that door, there you may no longer tarry. Set forth to London to bury the head, and go ye yonder straight through.'

So they cut off his head, and with the head with them, these seven started forth, and Branwen the eighth. And they came to land at Aber Alaw, in Talebolion; and there they sat down and rested. And she looked at Ireland and at the Island of the Mighty, on so much as she could see of them. 'Oh! Son of God,' said she, 'woe is me that I was born; the property of two islands[64] has been destroyed because of me.' And she uttered a loud groan, and broke her heart on that

63 'The White Hill', identified with the site of the Tower of London.

64 R.B. 'ys da dwy ynys a diffeithwyt om achaws i'. W.B. 'da a dwy ynys a diffeithwyt om achaws i'. The presence of the 'a' in front of 'dwy' suggests that the word 'gwyr'=men has been omitted in transcription.

account. And they made her a four-sided grave, and buried her in it upon the banks of the Alaw.[65]

R.B. 41; W.B. 58 And then the seven men journeyed forward towards Harlech, and the head with them. While they were journeying, behold there met them a multitude of men and women. 'Have you any tidings?' asked Manawydan. 'We have none,' said they, 'save the conquest by Caswallawn, the son of Beli, of the Island of the Mighty, and his being crowned king in London.' 'What has happened', said they, 'to Caradawg, the son of Brân, and the seven men who were left with him in this island?' 'Caswallawn came upon them and slew the six men, and Caradawg's heart broke for grief seeing the sword slaying his men, and knowing not who it was who slew them. Caswallawn had flung the Veil of Illusion[66] upon him, and no one saw him slay the men, only the sword. Caswallawn willed not to slay him who was his nephew, the son of his cousin. (And he was the third man whose heart broke through grief.[67]) Pendaran Dyfed, who was a young man with these men, escaped into the wood,' said they.

Then they set forth to Harlech, and there they began to sit down. Meat and liquor was begun to be

[65] In 1813 a grave with a funeral urn within was found at a place, known locally as Ynys Branwen, on the banks of the Alaw.

[66] 'Gwisgaw Llên Hût', the 'magic wearing-garment'. We suggest that this passage refers to a sudden attack made under the protection of a mist.

[67] We have been unable to trace the Triad here referred to. The words in brackets form a running comment of the transcriber.

provided, and they began to eat and to drink. Three birds came and began singing a kind of song to them, and whatever of songs they had heard were all unpleasing compared thereto. And a far sight it was for them to see them above the waters outside. And they W.B. 59
were as clear to them as if they were with them; and at this feasting they were seven years.

And at the close of the seventh year they started towards Gwales in Penfro. And there there was for them a fair and royal place, high above the waves, and a spacious hall was there for them. And they went into the hall. And its two doors were open.[68] The third door was closed, that towards Cornwall.

'See, yonder', said Manawydan, 'is the door we R.B. 42
ought not to open.' And that night they were there plenteously supplied and joyful. And in spite of the sorrow in their sight, and in spite of what they had had themselves, there came to their minds nothing of that nor of any other grief at all.[69]

And there they spent the fourscore years, so that they were unconscious of having ever spent a time more

[68] W.B. 'and they saw the two doors open'.

[69] W.B. 'ac yr awelsynt o *ouut* yny gwyd ac yr a gewssynt e hun ny doy gof udunt wy dim nac ohynny nac o alar yny byt'. R.B. 'ac yr a welsynt o *vwyt* yn y gwyd ac yr a glywys ehun ny doey y gof udunt hwy dim nac o hynny nac o alar yn y byt' = 'and of what they had seen of food in their presence, and of what they themselves had heard, no recollection came to them at all, nor of any sorrow in the world'. The W.B. text is to be preferred; the 'sorrow in their sight or presence' being the Venerable Head. So also 'alar' at the end implies 'gofud' at the beginning. So, also, the 'glywys' in R.B. is difficult to reconcile with the trend of the story.

joyous and mirthful than it. Recognition of one by the other was not more painful than when they came there. Nor was there more uneasiness upon them through the head being with them than when Bendigaid Frân was alive among them. And because of those fourscore years it was called the Hospitality of the Honourable Head. (The Hospitality of Branwen and Matholwch was that when they went to Ireland.)

This is what Heilyn, the son of Gwynn, did one day.
W.B. 60 'Shame on my beard,'[70] said he, 'if I open not the door to know if that is true which is said regarding it.' He opened the door, and looked towards Cornwall and Aber Henfelen. And when he looked, they were as fully conscious of the multitude of losses they had ever endured, and of the multitude of friends and companions they had lost, and of the multitude of evil that had come to them, as if it were there they had met with them; and above all else of their lord. And from that very hour they got no rest, save to set out with the head towards London. And howsoever long they were upon the road, at last they came to London.

And they buried the head in Gwynfryn; and that was one of the three good concealments when it was concealed, and one of the three unfortunate disclosures when it was disclosed, for no oppression came ever from across the sea to this island, while the head was in that concealment.[71]

[70] In ancient Welsh, a most insulting expression if applied to another.

[71] There is a play on the word 'cud', and its compounds here,

And thus does this account of their adventure relate. 'The Men who started from Ireland' is that.[72] R.B. 43

In Ireland no man was left alive, except five pregnant women in a cave in the Irish wilderness; and to these five women five sons were born at the same time; and these five sons they nursed until they became full-grown youths, and until they thought about wives, and until they desired to possess them. Then each one slept side by side with the mother of another, and ruled W.B. 61 over the land and inhabited it, and divided it among them all five. And because of this division are the five parts of Ireland still called. And they examined the land where the battles had taken place, and they found gold and silver until they became wealthy.

And behold, thus ends this branch of the Mabinogi,

which no translation can bring out; but which is very effective in recitation. 'A hwnnw uu y trydyd matcud pan cudywyt. Ar trydyd anuat datcud pan datcudywyt. Kany doey ormes byth drwy vor yr ynys honn tra uei y penn yn y cud hwnnw.'

It recites a well-known Triad of 'concealments', and another of 'uncoverings'. The other two 'concealments' were the dragons hidden in Dinas Emrys by Lludd, the son of Beli (vide story of Lludd and Llevelis) and the bones of Gwerthefyr (or Vortimer) Fendigeid, hidden in the chief harbours of the island. The 'uncoverings' were the uncoverings of the three concealments, the head of Brân by Arthur, and the other two by Gwrtheyrn (Vortigen).

[72] 'A hynny a dyweit y kyfarwydyt eu kyfranc hwy. Y Gwyr a gychwynnwys o Iwerdon yw hwnnw.' We have translated literally. It appears that the reciter pauses, and quotes the title of another story 'The men who started from Ireland' in order to introduce his account of the name of the five provinces of Ireland—Ulster, Munster, Connacht, Leinster, and Meath. That appears to be the intent of the words employed.

concerning the blow to Branwen, which was the third hateful blow[73] in this island, and concerning the Hospitality of Brân, when the host of sevenscore countries and ten[45] went to Ireland to avenge the blow given to Branwen, and concerning the seven years' banquet in Harlech, and the singing of the birds of Rhiannon,[74] and the Hospitality of the Head for fourscore years.

73 The other blows, according to the Triads, were those of Gwenhwyfach to Arthur's wife, Gwenhwyfar, and of Golyddan Fardd to Cadwaladr the Blessed. Another Triad substitutes for the blow to Gwenhwyfar that of Medrawd to Arthur.

74 For the song sung by the birds of Rhiannon, vide W.B. text of Kulhwch and Olwen.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO MANAWYDAN, THE SON OF LLYR

THERE are two complete manuscripts of 'Manawydan, the son of Llyr', that in the Red Book (pp. 44–58), and that in the White Book (cols. 61–81). In addition there is a small fragment contained in the White Book (pp. 281–2), corresponding with parts of R.B. 49–51 and W.B. 67–71. This latter fragment is regarded by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans as one of the earliest manuscript survivals.

The story of 'Manawydan' is a direct continuation of that of 'Branwen.' It describes, to some extent, the state of Britain under the rule of Caswallawn, who is represented as having usurped the kingdom after Brân's death, a usurpation which is the direct cause of Manawydan retiring to Dyfed, and the events which succeed that withdrawal. It is also a continuation of 'Pwyll', for it carries on the life story of Pryderi and Rhiannon, who once more becomes the central figure of the cycle. All the characters, save Llwyd, the son of Cilcoed, have already appeared in the preceding 'branches' of Pwyll and Branwen.

'Manawydan' is a much simpler tale than either of its predecessors, and has nothing like the same extent of episode. As a piece of literary structure it is not quite so well built; and the visit of Manawydan and Kicva to England after the disappearance of Pryderi and Rhiannon, being a re-echo of earlier wanderings, shows a falling off in imaginative power.

Nevertheless, it is of special value for many purposes. Manawydan appears as a Culture-hero, and, in telling the myth of the introduction of arts and agriculture, valuable light is thrown on contemporary arts and crafts. The element of magic, which almost runs riot in the last of the Four Branches, operates in 'Manawydan' on a larger scale than it does in the preceding stories. A whole province is depopulated and laid waste by enchantment. Mythologists assert that Llwyd and his friend Gwawl represent solar heroes, and Pryderi, the dark divinity, and Rhiannon, the moon-goddess, fall into Llwyd's power. Manawydan, the Lord of the Other World, it is said, is deprived of all his magical qualities; but he gains the victory over the solar heroes by resort to human foresight and cunning.

We have also in 'Manawydan' considerable corroborative evidence as to law and custom. The episode of the thieving mouse, and Manawydan's dealing with it, is, down to the smallest detail, an accurate picture of the old Welsh law and procedure in cases of theft. There are a few, but not many, traces of Norman-French ideas permeating an old folk-tale, retold to suit more modern needs. We have also illustrations of the rich medieval Welsh sense of humour, of the high standard maintained of honourable dealing, and numerous instances of that peculiar onomastic characteristic of the purely Welsh stories, which so often attempt to explain the origin of place-names by fantastic derivations.

The scene is laid in South-west Wales, with occa-

sional excursions across the border into England, especially to Hereford and Oxford, which played so large a part in Welsh life during the Middle Ages. Oxford was already the educational home of Wales, the centre, in Welsh eyes, of all Britain, and Hereford was its 'municipal' home, for it was the 'mother-town' of many of the new Welsh boroughs. In this connexion it is interesting to notice the contemptuous attitude of a country-bred population towards town-life, a feeling which Wales has never quite lost.

In its extraordinary interweaving of old mythology, legendary history, and features of contemporary medieval life, 'Manawydan' illustrates, perhaps more clearly than any other story, how an old folk-tale is adapted, as time goes on, to the spirit and understanding of the age in which it assumes its final literary form.

MANAWYDAN, THE SON OF LLYR

R.B. 44 This is the third branch of the Mabinogi.[1]

W.B. 61 WHEN the seven men of whom we spoke above had finished burying the head of Bendigaid Frân in Gwynfryn in London, with its face towards France, Manawydan looked upon the town of London and upon his companions, and heaved a great sigh; and much grief and longing came upon him.[3] 'Oh! Almighty God, woe is me,' said he, 'there is none without a place for himself this night save me.' 'Lord,' said Pryderi, 'let there not be such heaviness upon you as this. Your cousin is king in the Island of the Mighty, and though he do you wrong,' said he, 'you have never
W.B. 62 been a claimant for land or soil. You are one of three gentle rulers.'[4] 'Yea,' said he, 'although that man is my cousin, sad am I to see some one in the place of my brother, Bendigaid Frân, and I cannot be happy in the same house as he.' 'Will you take other advice?' said Pryderi. 'I stand in need of advice,' he said, 'what is

[1] Not in W.B. [2] Not in R.B.

[3] The Welsh idiom is 'he took upon himself much grief and longing'.

[4] The sense of 'lleddf', 'gentle', here is in opposition to 'hawlwr', 'claimant'. The 'hawlwr', plaintiff, complainant was one who demanded alleged rights, while one who was 'lleddf' tried to assuage or allay a dispute. The others to whom the denomination was applied in the Triads were Llywarch Hên, the son of Elidir Lydanwen, and Gwgawn Gwron, the son of Eleufer Gosgorddfawr.

that advice?' 'Seven *cantrefi*[5] of Dyfed[2] were left to me,' said Pryderi, 'and Rhiannon, my mother, is there. I will give her to you,[6] and power over the seven *cantrefi* with her. And though you should have no dominions but those seven *cantrefi*, there are not seven *cantrefi* better than they. Kicva, the daughter of Gwynn Gloyw, is my wife,' said he, 'and although the R.B. 45
kingdom is nominally mine,[7] let the enjoyment thereof be yours and Rhiannon's; and if you were ever to desire dominions, perhaps you would not obtain dominions as good as those.'[8] 'I desire not better ones, sir,' said he, 'God repay you for your friendship.' 'The best friendship I can give you is yours, if you desire.' 'I do desire it, my soul,' said he, 'God reward you. And I will go with you to see how Rhiannon is faring, and to look at the dominions.' 'You will do well,' he said; 'I believe that you have never listened to a lady

5 See note 4 to 'Pwyll'. These are the same cantrefi as those referred to at the beginning of 'Pwyll'.

6 Cf. with note 58 to 'Pwyll'. The power of a son to 'give' his widowed mother in marriage is referred to here, and here only, in the early Welsh stories or laws. The general custom was that a widow was free to dispose of herself at will, without consultation at all; and we see, even in this story, that Rhiannon's consent is required. The reference to Pryderi bestowing his mother suggests that this part of the story was introduced when foreign ideas were beginning to operate in Wales. We are not satisfied that it represents ancient Welsh custom.

7 'a chynn enwedigaeth y kyuoeth y mi', i.e., 'though the kingdom is mine in name'.

8 'a phei mynnvt gyuoeth eiryoet atuyd y kaffut ti hwnnw'. The rendering assumes that the word 'gystal' before 'hwnnw' has been lost in the text. Otherwise the meaning of the text is obscure.

better in converse than she. In the time she was in her prime, no woman was ever more noble than she, and even now you will not be dissatisfied with her looks.'

W.B. 63 They set forth straightway, and how long soever they were on the road, they came to Dyfed. A feast was ready for them against their coming to Arberth. Rhiannon and Kicva had prepared it. And then Manawydan and Rhiannon began to sit down and to talk together; and from her conversation his mind and his thoughts felt tenderness towards her, and he marvelled in his heart that he had never beheld a lady with such sufficiency of great beauty and fairness as she.

'Pryderi,' said he, 'I will do as you say.' 'What saying was that?' said Rhiannon. 'Lady,' said he, Pryderi, 'I have bestowed you as a wife[6] upon Manawydan, the son of Llyr.' 'And I agree gladly to that,' said Rhiannon. 'Glad am I also,' said Manawydan; 'God repay the man who gives me friendship so perfect as that.' Before the end of that feast he slept with her.[9]

'What has not been consumed of the feast,' said Pryderi, 'enjoy you it; and I will go to tender my homage[10] to Caswallawn, the son of Beli, as far as Lloegr.' 'Lord,' said Rhiannon, 'Caswallawn is in Kent, and you may therefore finish this feast, and wait until he comes near.' 'We will wait,' he said. So they

R.B. 46 finished that feast.

And they began to make the *cylch*[11] of Dyfed, and to

9 See note 62 to 'Pwyll'.

10 See note 37 to 'Pwyll'. It is doubtful if this occurred in the original version.

11 See note 89 to 'Pwyll'.

hunt, and to take their pleasure. And as they strolled through the country, they had never seen a land better W.B. 64
inhabited than it, nor better hunting-ground, nor more abounding in honey and fish, than it. And in that time grew a friendship between all four, so that not one would be parted from the other by day or by night.

And in the meantime he went to Caswallawn as far as Oxford to tender his homage[10] to him; and very great rejoicing was there towards him, and thanks to him for tendering homage[10] to him.

And after his return Pryderi and Manawydan feasted and took their ease. And they began a feast at Arberth, for it was the chief court,[12] and from there originated all honour.[13] And after the first meal that night, while the servants were eating, they arose and went forth, and proceeded, all four, to the Gorsedd at Arberth, and their retinue with them. And while they were sitting thus, behold, a noise, and with the magnitude of the noise, lo! a fall of mist coming, so that not one of them could see the other. And after the mist, behold light everywhere. And when they looked whither formerly they had seen the flocks and herds, and dwellings, they saw not a single thing, neither house, nor beast, nor smoke, nor fire, nor man, nor dwelling; only the houses of the Court empty, waste, and uninhabited, without man, without beast in them. Their very companions were lost, without their know- W.B. 65
ing aught of them; only they four. 'Oh, Lord God,'

[12] See note 5 to 'Pwyll'.
[13] i.e., 'it was the centre of all honour'.

said Manawydan, 'where are the retinue of the court and our retinue besides these? Let us go and look.' They came into the hall, and there was no one; they went to the chamber,[14] and to the sleeping-place, they saw no one; in the mead-cellar and in the kitchen there was nought but desolation.

R.B. 47 So they four set themselves to finish the feast; and they hunted and took their pleasure; and all of them began to wander through the land and dominions to see if they could find either houses or dwellings, and they saw nothing but wild beasts. And when they had finished their feast and their provisions, they began to feed upon the flesh of the chase and fish and the nests of wild bees. And thus a year and a second passed pleasantly for them; and at last they grew weary.

'Of a truth,' said Manawydan, 'we must not bide thus. Let us go into Lloegr, and seek some craft[15] whereby we may support ourselves.' They set forth for Lloegr, and came as far as Hereford. And they betook themselves to making saddles. And Manawydan began to fashion pommels, and to polish them in the manner that he had seen it done by Llasar Llaesgygnwyd,[16] with blue enamel, and to make the blue enamel straight away as the other man had made it.

[14] 'Ystafell', see note 22 to 'Pwyll'. R.B., by mistranscription, has 'kastell', 'castle'.

[15] 'crefft' = craft. We are introduced here to the origins of craftsmanship in Wales. Manawydan is the mythological patron of craft.

[16] So in W.B. R.B. has 'Llaesgygwyd'. In Branwen, both texts give the form 'Llaesgyfnewid'.

And therefore it is still called *calch llasar*,[17] because of its being wrought by Llasar Llaesgygnwyd.

And of that work, so long as it could be had of W.B. 66
Manawydan, neither saddle nor pommel was bought of a saddler throughout all Hereford, until when it was recognized by every one of the saddlers that they were losing much of[1] their gains, and that nothing was bought of them, except it could not be got from Manawydan. And thereupon they assembled together, and agreed to slay him and his company.[18]

Upon this they received warning, and they took counsel about leaving the city. 'Between me and God,' said Pryderi, 'I do not counsel leaving the town; rather let us slay yonder serfs.'[19] 'Not so,' said Manawydan, 'for if we fight with them, evil fame will fall on us, and we shall be imprisoned. It were better for us', said he, 'to go to another town to earn our living therein.' And then they four set forth to R.B. 48
another city.

'What art', said Pryderi, 'shall we take upon ourselves?' 'We will make shields,' said Manawydan. 'Do we know anything about it?' said Pryderi. 'We will try it,' said he.

[17] 'Enamel'. Lit. 'blue lime'. A typical instance of medieval attempts at derivation.

[18] The jealousy of members of a craft to intruders, so typical of the Middle Ages, is well brought out in these episodes.

[19] 'taeog'. The South Welsh term for 'serf', 'adscriptus glebae'. The N. W. term was 'aillt'. The ancient Welsh, being hunters and pastoral, had a supreme contempt for town-life; hence the application of the term 'taeog' to the artisan class in an English town. The word survives in the Yorkshire dialect in the form 'tyke'.

They began to make shields, and to fashion them on the pattern of good shields they had seen, and they put colours on them as they had done on the saddles. And that work prospered so that not a shield was bought in the whole town, except it could not be had of them.[20] Rapid was their work, and immense quantities made they.

W.B. 67 And so they continued till there was a stir among the townsmen, and they decided to encompass slaying them. They received warning, and heard that the men intended to put them to death.[18] 'Pryderi,' said Manawydan, 'these men desire to slay us.' 'Let us not yield to these serfs;[19] let us fall upon them and slay them.' 'Not so,' said he, 'Caswallawn and his men would hear of it, and we should be ruined. We will go to another town.' To another town they went. 'What art shall we take up?' said Manawydan. 'Whatsoever you wish that we know,' said Pryderi. 'Not so,' said he, 'let us make shoes; there is not heart among shoemakers, either to fight with us or to forbid us.'[21] 'I know nothing about it,' said Pryderi. 'But I know,' said

[20] Literally, 'except after it was not obtained from them'.

[21] The making of shoes was, in many early societies, regarded as a debased occupation, and this story illustrates the extreme contempt in which shoemakers were held. It also illustrates the hard and fast line there was between tanners and shoemakers. The leather-workers' craft was divided into many subsections, at the top of which stood the cordwainers, so called because they originally worked in the finest leather known, Cordovan leather. At the bottom of the scale were the 'cobblers' or menders of old leather goods, the 'basanarii', who were permitted to mend with poor leather made of sheepskin.

Manawydan, ' and I will teach you to stitch. We will not meddle with dressing leather;[21] but we will buy it ready-made, and will do our work with it.'

So he began to buy the best Cordovan leather[21] that he could get in the town, and no other leather than that would he buy except leather for the soles; and he started to associate himself with the best goldsmith in the town, and caused him to fix buckles on the shoes, R.B. 49
and to gild the buckles, and he himself kept an eye on this until he learnt it. And for that reason was he called the Third Gilder.[22] W.B. 68.

So long as they could be had of him, not a shoe nor high boot[23] was bought of a shoemaker in the whole town. Thus the shoemakers perceived that they were losing their profits, for as Manawydan shaped the work, Pryderi stitched it. The shoemakers came together and took counsel, and so they determined in their council to agree to slay them.

' Pryderi,' said Manawydan, ' these men are minded to slay us.' ' Wherefore should we bear this from the thievish serfs? '[19] said Pryderi, ' rather let us slay them all.' ' Not so,' said Manawydan, ' we will not fight with them, nor will we remain in Lloegr any longer. Let us set forth for Dyfed, and go and see it.'

However long they were on the road, they came to

[22] The other two cordwainers referred to in the Triads were Caswallawn, the son of Beli, the details of whose operations have not survived in legend, and Lleu Llawgyffes, whose exploits are given in the story of Math, the son of Mathonwy. The Triads speak of the makers of ' gilded shoes '.

[23] ' Hossan '.

Dyfed, and they arrived at Arberth. And they struck a fire,[24] and began to support themselves and to hunt. And thus they spent a month. And they gathered their dogs around them, and hunted,[2] and thus they continued for a year there.

And one morning Pryderi and Manawydan rose up to hunt, and they collected their dogs, and went outside
Text B. 281 from the court. And some of the dogs ran before them, and went to a small bush which was near at hand; and as soon as they reached the bush, they drew back hastily, their hair bristling up amazingly in terror,[2] and
W.B. 69 returned to the men. 'Let us go near to the bush,'[25] said Pryderi, 'to see what is in it.' And they came near the bush. And when they got near, behold! a woodland boar, shining white in colour, rose up from the bush. Then the dogs, set on by the men, rushed at him; but he left the bush and fell back a space away from the men, and unless the men were near him, he stood at bay against the dogs without retreating from
R.B. 50 them. And when the men came close, he fell back a second time, and broke away. Then they pursued the boar until they beheld a vast and lofty castle, all newly

[24] 'a llad tan a wnaethant'. The phrase implied, in old Welsh, that they had fixed upon a particular site as their dwelling-place. 'Striking a fire' indicated that that particular site was occupied; and it was a serious matter to interfere with the hearth-fire of another, the existence of which was indisputable evidence of prior occupation.

[25] 'parth ar berth'. It is possible, we think, that this is intended to explain the meaning of the word 'Arberth'. The attempt to explain local names by incidents of this nature is common in the stories.

built, in a place where they had never seen either stone or work.[26] And the boar ran swiftly[27] into the castle, and the dogs after him. And when the boar and the dogs had gone into the castle, they marvelled to see a castle in a place where they had never seen work[26] before. And from the top of the Gorsedd they looked and listened for the dogs. But howsoever long they were there thus,[2] they heard not one of the dogs nor aught concerning them.

'Lord,' said Pryderi, 'I will go into the castle to get tidings of the dogs.' 'Truly,' said he, 'not good[28] is your counsel to go into this castle, which you never saw before.[29] If you would follow my counsel, you would not go into it. Whoever has cast a spell over the land has caused the castle to be here.' 'Of a truth,' said Pryderi, 'I will not part with my dogs.' And whatever Text B 282
counsel he got from Manawydan, to the castle he set forth.

When he came to the castle, neither man nor beast, nor boar nor dogs, nor house nor habitation saw he in W.B. 70
the castle. As it were in the centre of the castle floor, he beheld a fountain with marble work around it, and on the edge of the fountain a golden[1] bowl, tied to four chains,[30] on top of a marble slab, and the [30] chains going up into the air, to which he saw no end.

And he was enraptured with the beauty of the gold,

[26] The word 'gwaith', 'work', in Welsh implies any completed structure.

[27] In text B, 'instantly'. [28] Text B, 'wise'.

[29] Text B, 'where never did we see this fort before'.

[30] Text B only.

and with the goodly workmanship of the bowl, and he went up to where the bowl was, and laid hold of it. And immediately he had taken hold of the bowl, both his hands stuck to the bowl and his feet to the slab on which the bowl was standing, and all his power of speech[31] forsook him, so that he could not utter a word. And thus he stood.

And Manawydan waited for him till towards the close of the day. And when nones were far gone, and when he was certain that he would have no tidings of
R.B. 51 Pryderi or of the dogs, he returned to the court. When he came in, Rhiannon looked at him. 'Where', said she, 'are your companion and your dogs?' 'Behold,' he answered, 'my adventure and fate![30] And he told it all. 'Truly,' said Rhiannon, 'an evil companion have you been, and a good companion have you lost.' And with that word she went out, and in the direction where he told her the man and the castle were, thither[1]
W.B. 71 went she. The gate of the castle she found open, and there was no concealment upon it.[32] And she came
End of Text B inside. And as soon as[2] she came in, she perceived Pryderi holding the bowl, and she came to him. 'Och!' said she, 'my lord, what are you doing here?' And she took hold of the bowl with him; and as she took hold, her hands also stuck to the bowl, and her feet to

[31] 'power of speech' = 'lleferydd'. In Text B only. Both R.B. and W.B. have 'llewenyd' or 'llywenyd' = joy; but it is clear that both have mistranscribed the original. See *infra*, where Rhiannon lost her power of speech when she touched the bowl.

[32] Professor Loth suggests that this means 'it was in bright sunshine'.

the slab, so that she also was not able to utter a word. And with that, as soon as it became night, lo! thunder upon them, and a fall of mist, and thereupon the castle vanished, and they with it.

When Kicva, the daughter of Gwynn Gloew, the wife of Pryderi,[2] saw there was no one in the court but herself and Manawydan, she lamented so that her life was no better than her death to her. And Manawydan noticed this. 'Of a truth,' said he, 'you are in the wrong, if through fear of me you lament. I give God for surety [33] to you that you have never seen a friend truer than that which you shall have in me, as long as God wills you should be thus. Between me and God, were I still at the beginning of my youth, I would keep faith with Pryderi, and with you also will I keep it. Let there not be one fear upon you,' said he. 'Between me and God,' said he, 'you shall meet with the friendship you wish from me, according to my power, as long as it shall please God for us to be in this suspense and anxiety.' 'God repay you,' she said, 'and that is what I expected.' And thereupon the maid[34] rejoiced, and became without fear on this account. W.B. 72 R.B. 82

'Yea,' said Manawydan, 'my soul, it is not fitting for us to stay here; we have lost our dogs, and we cannot get means of support. Let us go into Lloegr; it is easier for us to find a living there.' 'Gladly, lord,' said

33 The 'giving of God for surety', or 'briduw', was a form of contract ceremonial commonly used when ordinary sureties could not be obtained for a contract of suretyship (mechni).

34 The use of the word 'morwyn' for a married woman is most unusual.

she, ' we will do so.' And they set forth together to Lloegr.

' Lord,' said she, ' what craft will you undertake? Take up one that is clean.' ' None other will I take,' said he, ' save making shoes, as I did formerly.' ' Lord,' said she, ' that is not suitable in cleanliness for a man so refined and honourable as yourself.'[21] ' By that will I abide,' said he.

He began his art, and he made his work of the finest Cordovan leather[21] he could get in the town, and as they had begun at the other place, he began to buckle the shoes with gilded buckles, so that the work of the shoemakers of the town became futile and insignificant compared to his. For as long as they could be had from him neither shoes nor high boots[23] were bought from others at all. And thus they tarried there a year until the shoemakers became envious and jealous of him, and
W.B. 73 until warnings came to him, and he was told that the shoemakers had agreed to slay him.

' Lord,' said Kicva, ' wherefore should this be borne from the serfs?[19] ' ' Nay,' said he, ' let us yet go back to Dyfed.' They set forth towards Dyfed.

Now Manawydan, when he set out towards Dyfed, took with him a bundle of wheat.[35] And he reached Arberth, and there he dwelt. And there was nothing more pleasing to him than to see Arberth, and the lands where he had been wont to hunt together with Pryderi

[35] After appearing as a great craftsman, Manawydan is now introduced as the great introducer of agriculture. Elsewhere, Amaethon the son of Don is the ' first farmer '.

and with Rhiannon. And he began to become familiar with fishing and hunting deer in their lairs there. And after this he began to till, and then he sowed a croft, and a second, and a third. And, behold! the best wheat in the world sprang up. And the three crofts prospered in such a growth that no man had ever seen fairer wheat than it. R.B. 53

And the seasons of the year passed. And behold the harvest came. And he came to look at one of his crofts, and behold it was ripe. 'I will reap this to-morrow,' said he. That night he came back to Arberth. On the morrow, in the green dawn, he came, intending to reap the croft. When he came, there was nothing there but the bare straw, after each of them had been broken where the ear came from the stalk, and all the ears carried entirely away, and the stalks left there bare. And at this he marvelled greatly.

And he came to look at another croft, and behold, that was ripe. 'Of a truth,' said he, 'this will I reap to-morrow.' And on the morrow he came with the intent to reap it, and when he came there, he found nothing but the bare stalks. 'Oh! Lord God,' said he, 'who is completing my ruin? And I know it: whoever has begun my ruin is completing it, and has also destroyed the country with me.' W.B. 74

He came to look at the third croft, and when he came, no person had ever seen finer wheat, and this was ripe. 'Evil betide me,' said he, 'if I watch not to-night. Whoever carried off the other will come to take this. And I will know what it is.' So he took his arms, and

began to watch the croft. And he told Kicva everything. 'Yea,' said she, 'what is your intention?' 'I will watch the croft to-night,' said he.

And he went to watch the croft. And as he remained half the night thus, lo! the loudest tumult in the world. He looked, and behold, thereupon,[1] the mightiest host of mice in the world, which he could neither count nor measure. And before he knew where he was[36] the mice were falling upon the croft, every one of them climbing up a stalk and bending it down, cutting off the ear, and going off with the ears, leaving the stalk
R.B. 54 behind. And he saw[37] not a single stalk there, which had not a mouse on it. And they were going off, all
W.B. 75 with the ears with them.

Thereupon, what with wrath and anger, he rushed into the midst of the mice; but he could no more overtake any of them than if they had been gnats or birds in the air, except one only, which he saw heavy with young, so as to seem incapable of walking. And after that one he went, and he caught it, and put it in his glove, and tied up the opening of the glove with a string, and keeping it with him, he set off for the court.

He came to the chamber where Kicva was, and he lighted a fire, and hung the glove by the string upon a

[36] 'ac ny wydyat yn y vyd'. The phrase implies a sudden bewilderment.

[37] Lit. 'knew'. The Med. Welsh identification of 'knowing' with 'seeing' is persistent, though by no means confined to Wales. The witness, e.g., who knew (gwybydiad) was one who, to use the phrase employed, 'saw and heard' that which he testified to as 'knowing'.

peg. 'What is there there, lord?' said Kicva. 'A thief', said he, 'that I found robbing me.' 'What kind of thief, lord, that you can put it into your glove?' said she. 'Behold, everything,' he said; and he told her how his crofts had been wasted and destroyed, and how the mice came to the last of the crofts in his presence. 'And one of them was heavy with young, and I caught it; and it is in my glove. To-morrow I will hang it, and, by my confession to God, I would hang them all, if I had them.' 'My lord,' said she, 'that was passing strange; but it would be unseemly to see a man of such dignity and stock as you hanging such vermin as that. And if you would do right, you will not meddle with the vermin, but let it go.' 'Evil be on me,' said he, 'if I would not hang the lot, could I catch them, and such W.B. 76
as I have I will hang.' 'Yea, lord,' said she, 'there is no reason why I should succour that vermin, except to prevent discredit to you. Do, lord, your own will.' 'If I knew of any reason in the world why you should succour it, I would follow your advice concerning it,' said Manawydan, 'but as I know none, lady, I am minded to destroy it.' 'Do so willingly then,' said she. R.B. 55

And then he set out for the Gorsedd of Arberth, and the mouse with him. And he set up two forks[38] on the

[38] The whole of this part of the story, connected with the execution of the mouse and the efforts to redeem it, illustrate, in a striking manner, the provisions of old Welsh law regarding 'theft'. A thief caught with stolen property in his possession was liable to the death penalty, as in other early societies. In Wales it was strictly forbidden to compromise a case of theft. But where the thief was not caught in possession of stolen

highest part of the Gorsedd. And while he was doing so, behold, he saw a clerk[39] coming towards him, with old, threadbare, poor garments on him. And it was now seven years since he had seen either man or beast, except the four who had remained together till two were lost.

'Lord,' said the clerk, 'good day to you.' 'God prosper you, and grace be with you,' said he. 'Whence come you, clerk?' said he. 'I come, lord, from singing[40] in Lloegr; and why do you inquire, lord?' said he. 'Because for the last seven years,' said he, 'I have seen no man save four secluded persons, and yourself now.' 'Yea, lord,' said he, 'I am now going through this land unto my own land. And what work are you upon, lord?' 'I am hanging a thief that I caught robbing
W.B. 77 me,' said he. 'What manner of thief, lord?' said the clerk. 'I see vermin in your hand like unto a mouse,

property, he became a 'saleable thief', and could be bought or redeemed. The redemption rate varied, £1, £3, £7, and £24, as given in this story, according to the value of the property stolen. Being caught in the act, as this mouse was, was equivalent to being caught 'with the stolen property in possession', but being corn, which was regarded as unidentifiable, though found in possession of the thief, such a theft was treated as one of theft of goods, not in possession, for it was held legally that no one could identify his own corn. The story illustrates the growing consciousness in Wales, at an early period, that the death penalty should not be inflicted for any kind of theft. As one commentator on the laws says, herein echoing the growing sentiment, no one should be hanged for less than £100.

39 'yscolheic', The word refers to the students of Oxford in minor orders.

40 'canu', to sing. The reference here is to the practice of the Universities of giving licences to students to beg on their way home.

and ill does it become a man of rank equal to yours to touch[41] such a beast as that. Let it go.' 'I will not let it go, between me and God,' said he. 'I caught it robbing, and the law of a thief will I render it, that is, hanging.' 'Lord,' said he, 'rather than see a man of rank equal to yours at that work, I will give you a pound, which I have had as alms, on condition you let the vermin go.' 'I will not let it go,' said he, 'between me and God, neither will I sell it.' 'As you will, lord,' he said, 'were it not unseemly to see a man of rank equal to yours handling such vermin as that, I would not be concerned at all.' And the clerk went his way.

As he was fixing the cross-beam upon the forks, behold a priest coming towards him upon a well-equipped horse. 'Good-day to you, lord,' said he. 'God prosper you,' said Manawydan, 'your blessing.' R.B. 56
'The blessing of God be upon you. And what work,[2] lord, are you doing?' 'Hanging a thief that I caught robbing me,' said he. 'What manner of thief is that,[1] lord?' said he. 'A creature', he said, 'in the form of a mouse. It has been robbing me, and the death of a thief will I inflict on it.' 'Lord,' said he, 'rather than see you touch that beast, I will redeem it. Let it go.' 'By my confession to God, neither will I sell it, nor let it go.' 'It is true, lord, that it has no worth;[42] but sooner W.B. 78

[41] W.B. 'y modi'; R.B. 'teimlaw'.

[42] The word 'worth' here signifies that the mouse had no 'legal worth', or appraised value upon it. All domestic animals, and some wild ones, had a fixed monetary valuation placed upon them, payable when injury or death was caused. The mouse had no such value.

than see you defile yourself with that beast, I will give you three pounds to let it go.' 'Between me and God,' said he, 'I wish no worth for it, save that which is its due, hanging.' 'Willingly, lord, do your good pleasure.' And the priest[43] went his way.

Then he tied the string in a noose round the mouse's neck, and as he was about to draw it up, behold, he saw an outrider[44] of a bishop with his baggage[45] and his retinue. And the bishop came towards him. And he delayed his work. 'Lord bishop,' said he, 'your blessing.' 'God grant you His blessing,' said he, 'what work are you upon?' 'Hanging a thief that I caught robbing me,' said he. 'Is it not a mouse,' said he, 'that I see in your hand?' 'Yes,' said he, 'it was a thief from me.' 'Aye,' said he, 'since I have come at the destruction of the beast, I will redeem it of you. I will give you seven pounds for it; and rather than see a man of equal rank to yours destroying so vile a beast as that, let it loose and you shall receive the money.' 'Between me and God, I will not let it loose,' said he. 'Since you will not let it loose for this, I will give you four and twenty pounds of ready money, if you will let it go.' 'I will not let it go, by my confession to God, for as
R.B. 57. much again,' said he. 'If you will not let it go for this,'

43 'Offeiriad'; the 'offerer', i.e., of Mass. The word is still used in the Church services; but in common speech it is now confined to S. Wales, where the parish priest is spoken of as the 'offeiriad'. In N. Wales the word 'person' (parson) is used.

44 The word 'rwtter' is not Welsh, but Norman-French.

45 'swmer', sumpter. In Medieval Wales, as elsewhere, the sumpter horse was the ordinary means of transport.

said he, ' I will give you all the horses you see in this W.B. 79.
field, and the seven baggage loads that are here, and the seven horses that they are upon.' ' Between me and God, I will not,' he said. ' Since you do not agree to this, fix the worth you seek.'[1] ' I will do so,' said he; ' free Rhiannon and Pryderi.' ' This you shall have.' ' I don't agree yet, between me and God.' ' What then do you want?' ' Remove the charm and the illusion from upon the seven *cantrefi* of Dyfed.' ' This you shall have also, if you unloose the mouse.' ' I will not let it go, between me and God,' said he; ' I will know what the mouse is.' ' She is my wife. Had this not been so, I would not rescue her.' ' For what purpose came she to me?' ' To despoil,' he said. ' I am Llwyd, the son of Cilcoed, and I cast the charm over the seven *cantrefi* of Dyfed. And to avenge Gwawl, the son of Clud, through friendship towards him, did I cast the charm. And upon Pryderi did I avenge the game of Badger in the Bag, that Pwyll, the Chief of Annwn, played on Gwawl, the son of Clud, which he did unadvisedly in the court of Hefeydd Hên. And when they knew[46] that you were dwelling in the land, my bodyguard[47] came to me, to demand to be changed into mice, in order to destroy your corn. And my own bodyguard came the first night. And the second night also they came, and they destroyed the two crofts. And the third night my wife and the ladies of the Court came to me to beseech me to transform them. And I transformed W.B. 80

[46] W.B. ' heard '. Cf. with note 35 *supra*.
[47] See note 24 to ' Pwyll ', ' teulu '.

them. And she was pregnant. And had she not been pregnant, you would not have overtaken her; but since this has happened, and she has been caught, I will restore you Pryderi and Rhiannon, and I will take the charm and illusion from off Dyfed. I have now told you who she is. Let her go at once.'[1] 'I will not let her go, between me and God,' said he. 'What wish you?' he said. 'Behold,' said he, 'I will that there be no charm ever upon the seven *cantrefi* of Dyfed, and that
R.B. 58 none shall be put upon it.' 'This you shall have,' said he, 'if you let her go.' 'By my faith,[48] I will not let her go,' he said. 'What do you want further?' said he. 'Behold, this do I want; that vengeance be never taken for this upon Pryderi or Rhiannon or upon me.' 'All this shall you have. And truly you have hit the mark[49] well. Had you not hit this mark,'[49] said he, 'upon your head would have fallen complete disaster.' 'Yea,' said he, 'therefore was it that I required this.' 'Set now my wife at liberty.' 'I will not liberate her, between me and God, until I see Pryderi and Rhiannon with me free.' 'Behold, here they come,' he said.

And thereupon, behold, Pryderi and Rhiannon. And he rose up to meet them, and greeted them, and they sat down together. 'Ah, *gwrda*, set now my wife at liberty,' said the bishop, 'since you have received all you asked.' 'I will release her gladly,' said he.

And thereupon he let her go. Then he struck her with a magic wand, and she was changed back into a

[48] W.B. 'Between me and God'.
[49] 'medru', 'to hit the mark'.

young woman, the fairest any one ever saw. 'Look around you upon the land,' said he, 'and you will see W.B. 81
all the houses and the habitations as they were in their best state.' And he rose up and looked forth. And when he looked, he saw all the land inhabited, and full of all riches and dwellings. 'What kind of bondage', he said, 'has there been upon Pryderi and Rhiannon?' 'Pryderi has had the knockers[50] of the gate of my court about his neck, and Rhiannon has had the collars[51] of the asses, after they had been carrying hay, about her neck. And such have been their fetters.'

And by reason of these fetters is that story called the Mabinogi of the Collars[51] and the Knockers.[50]

And thus ends this branch of the Mabinogi.

[50] 'Yrdd' plur. of (g)ordd, hence Myn-ordd.

[51] W.B. 'mynweireu'; R.B. contracts to 'mweireu'. The story, *inter alia*, attempts to explain certain place-names. See note 24 *supra*. In addition, Llwyd is introduced as a bishop to explain the origin of the name Ludchurch = Eglwys Lwyd, and 'mynweireu' is the attempted explanation of the name Mynwear, a small town at the end of Milford Haven, while 'Mynordd' is a similar attempt to explain the village now known as Manordean, near Cilgerran.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO MATH, THE SON OF MATHONWY

THERE are two texts of this, the last branch of the Mabinogi, that of the Red Book (pp. 59–81), and that of the White Book (cols. 81–111). There are no additional fragmentary survivals.

'Math' introduces us to many new characters, who have not appeared in the other 'branches'; and this fact justifies the conclusion that the original *motif* has received many accretions from other sources. It is entitled to be considered a tale of 'enfance', one of the Mabinogi, by virtue of the account given of Lleu Llaw Gyffes; but that account is unconnected with the preceding stories. The link that connects 'Math' with its predecessors is the rape of the swine, the ensuing invasion of Gwynedd, and the death of Pryderi. To this link have been added several new episodes, notably Gilfaethwy's love for Goewin, the creation of Blodeuwedd, her marriage to Lleu, her infidelity, and the remarkable account of Lleu's sufferings and revenge. These accretions, though of different origins, have been combined with the *motif* of Pryderi, by means of the highest literary skill, to form a connected whole. So wonderfully have they been woven together that it is only by deliberate dissection that we become conscious of the different threads that have been worked into the final pattern.

The mythological explanation of 'Math' is an extremely difficult, but fascinating, problem. An

interesting, if unconvincing, effort to solve the problem has been made recently by Prof. W. J. Gruffydd.

'Math' presents us with some of the highest poetical flights contained in the Mabinogion: the account of Blodeuwedd's creation is one of the finest examples there is of Celtic poetic imaginings, but it by no means stands alone. These poetical flights alternate with a riot of mystery and magic which, in the Welsh stories, is only equalled by the mystery and magic of Kulhwch and Olwen. We are no longer in a world of reality, in which mystery plays its part, but in a world where mystery is the only reality. Moreover, we find ourselves in contact with characterizations, sometimes vigorous, almost rough, but their very roughness is designed and executed with the greatest artistic skill. Even what is barbaric is barbaric because the teller wished it to be so.

'Math' is one of the treasure-houses of the Celtic imagination, and it displays that imagination in all its varied and glittering facets.

The scene is set, save for the expedition to Rhuddlan Teifi, entirely in Caernarfon and Merioneth. The use of certain North-Welsh terms, especially that of 'mab aillt', and the close acquaintanceship with the geography of the North, leave little room for doubt that the story assumed its final form in North Wales, and was, in all probability, redacted by a North-Welsh monk.

MATH, THE SON OF MATHONWY

R.B. 59 This is the Fourth Branch of the Mabinogi.[1]

W.B. 81 MATH, the son of Mathonwy, was lord over Gwynedd, and Pryderi, the son of Pwyll, was lord over one and twenty *cantrefi*[3] in the south. These were they, seven *cantrefi* of Dyfed, seven *cantrefi*[1] of Morgannwg, four *cantrefi*[1] of Ceredigion, and three of Ystrad Tywi.

And at that time, Math, the son of Mathonwy, could not live save while his two feet were in the hollow of a maiden's abdomen,[4] except only when the strife of war prevented him. This was the maiden with him; Goewin, the daughter of Pebin of Dol Pebin in Arfon, and she was the fairest maiden of her time who was known there.

W.B. 82 And it was at Caer Dathyl in Arfon that he ruled, and he was not able to do the *cylch*[5] of the land; but Gil-

[1] Not in W.B. [2] Not in R.B.

[3] These are the cantrefi already mentioned at the end of 'Pwyll'.

[4] The 'footholder' was a common enough servant in the early Middle Ages. The normal footholder of the Welsh courts was, however, a man, ranking as one of the officials of the court by 'custom and usage', whose duties were those of a 'masseur'. There are distinct traces, nevertheless, in various lands of the foot-holder being a foot-stool during meals. Of that there is no trace in Wales in historic times; and the reference to Goewin's duties contained here seems to carry us back to ages long prior to the period of redaction.

[5] See 'Pwyll', note 89.

faethwy, the son of Don, and Efeydd, the son of Don, his nephews, the sons of his sister, and the bodyguard[6] with them, went the *cylch* of the land on his behalf.

And the maiden was always with Math; and Gilfaethwy, the son of Don, set his affections upon the maid, and loved her, so that he knew not what to do because of her; and thereupon, behold, his hue and his face and his appearance changed through love of her, so that it was not easy to recognize him.

One day, Gwydyon, his brother, gazed earnestly on him. 'Young man,' said he, 'what has happened to you?' 'Why,' said he, 'what see you the matter with R.B. 60
me?' 'I see', said he, 'that you have lost your looks and your hue; what has happened to you?' 'Lord brother,' said he, 'this which has happened to me, it will not avail me to own to any.' 'What is it, my soul?' said he. 'You know', he said, 'the nature of Math, the son of Mathonwy, if there be whispering,[7] howsoever low, among men, if the wind should meet it, he will know of it.' 'Yes,' said Gwydyon, 'keep you silent henceforth; I know your thought; you are in love with Goewin.'

This is what he did then, when he found that his brother knew his thought; he gave the heaviest sigh in the world. 'Stop your sighing, my soul,' said he, 'thereby you will not succeed. I myself will cause,' said he, 'since it cannot be otherwise, the rising of

6 See 'Pwyll', note 24.

7 The Welsh version of a well-known classical myth. See, for its recurrence, the story of Llys and Llevelys.

W.B. 86 Gwynedd and Powys and Deheubarth, to seize the maiden. Be you glad, and I will obtain her for you.'

And thereupon they went to Math, the son of Mathonwy. 'Lord,' said Gwydyon, 'I have heard that there has come to the south a kind of beast, such as has never come to this island before.' 'What is their name?' said he. '*Hobeu* (pigs), lord.' 'What kind of animals are they?' 'Little animals; their flesh is better than the flesh of oxen. They are small, and they are altering their names. They are nowadays called *moch* (swine).' 'Who owns them?' 'Pryderi, the son of Pwyll; they were sent to him from Annwn by Arawn, the king of Annwn.'[8] (And that name is still preserved in *hanner hwch, hanner hob*.)[9] 'Yea,' said he, 'by what means are they to be got from him?' 'I will go, lord, myself the twelfth,[10] in the guise of bards, to ask for the swine.' 'Perhaps he will refuse you them,' said he. 'My powers of bargaining are not bad, lord,' said he, 'I will not come without the swine.' 'Gladly', said he, 'go forward.'

So he and Gilfaethwy went, and ten men with

[8] See 'Pwyll'. The gift of swine from the lord of the underworld is one of the gifts made to mankind in return for Pwyll's aid.

[9] The word 'hob' = 'pig', or 'hog', appears to have been obsolete at the time of the redaction. 'Hwch' in Mod. W. = sow; but in O.W. it was = pig. Mod. W. for pig is 'mochyn', pl. 'moch'. The words in brackets indicate that, at the time of the redaction, the name 'hob' was preserved only in the saying 'half-hwch, half-hob'. It is preserved to-day in the name of the song, 'Hob y deri dando'. The pig in the Middle Ages was of the utmost economic importance.

[10] Cf. with 'Pwyll', note 60.

them, as far as Ceredigion, to the place which is now R.B. 61
called Rhuddlan Teifi, in the place where there was a court of Pryderi's. And in the guise of bards they came in, and there was joy towards them.

Gwydyon was set on one side of Pryderi that night. 'Yea,' said Pryderi, 'I would be glad to have a tale W.B. 84
from some of the young men yonder.' 'Lord,' said Gwydyon, 'we have a custom that the first night we come to a great man it is told by the *Pencerdd*.[11] I will tell a tale gladly.'

Now Gwydyon was the best reciter in the world, and that night he diverted the Court with pleasant conversation and with tales, so that every one of the Court was delighted, and Pryderi was amused talking with him. And at the end thus. 'Lord,' said he, 'were it better for some one other than myself to tell you my quest?' 'Not better,' said he, 'an excellent tongue is yours.' 'Behold, lord, my quest,' said he, 'to crave from you the animals that were sent you from Annwn.' 'Yea,' said he, 'that were the easiest thing in the world, were there not an agreement[12] between me and my land concerning them. This is it: that they shall not go from me until they have multiplied twofold in the land.' 'Lord,' said he, 'I myself can free you from those words. This is how I can. Do not give me the swine to-night, nor

[11] 'Pencerdd' = the Chief of Song, the head minstrel of a wandering company of reciters. The passage illustrates the old custom of strolling bards, the litterateurs, songsters, and entertainers of old Wales.

[12] 'Amod'. One of the Welsh forms of contract, made without sureties.

refuse them to me,[13] and to-morrow I will show you an exchange for them.'[14]

And that night he and his companions went to their lodging for their counsel. 'Ah, my men,' said he, 'we
W.B. 85 will not get the pigs for the asking.' 'Yes,' said they, 'by what bargaining[15] may they be obtained?' 'I will cause them to be obtained,' said Gwydyon.

And then he betook himself to his arts, and began to show his magic. And he enchanted twelve steeds, and twelve greyhounds, every one of them pure white-breasted, and twelve collars and twelve leashes on them.
R.B. 62 And no one who saw them knew that they were not gold. And twelve saddles upon the horses, and every part which should have been of iron was entirely of gold, and the bridles were of the same work as they. And with the horses and the dogs he came to Pryderi. 'Good day to you, lord,' said he. 'God prosper you,' said he, 'and greetings to you.' 'Lord,' said he, 'behold a release for you from the word which you spoke last evening concerning the swine, which you

[13] W.B. reads, 'but refuse them to me'.

[14] The meaning of Pryderi's undertaking is obscured here; but it is cleared up later. He had undertaken 'neither to sell nor to give' the swine away; and Gwydyon seizes on the distinction between 'selling' and 'giving' on the one hand, and 'exchanging' on the other. The distinction between sale and 'exchange', however, was not understood clearly before the tenth century, a natural enough phenomenon when transactions were by barter and not for cash. The Welsh Laws use the same word 'cyfnewid' for both transactions; and even to-day the distinction is not clearly marked in Mohammedan law.

[15] 'trawsgwyd', bargaining, transaction.

would neither give nor sell. You can exchange them for that which is better. I myself will give these twelve horses, harnessed as they are, and their saddles and their bridles, and twelve greyhounds, and their collars and their leashes as you see, and the twelve gilded shields that you see yonder.' These he had formed of toadstools. 'Yea,' said he, 'we will take counsel.' They determined in council to give the swine to Gwydyon, and to take from him the horses and the dogs and the shields.

And then they took leave, and began to travel with the pigs. 'Ah, comrades,' said Gwydyon, 'we must travel with speed. The illusion will not last until this time to-morrow.'[16] W.B. 86

And that night they travelled as far as the highest part of Ceredigion, the place which, for that reason, is still called Mochdref.[17] And the next day they continued their journey. They came across Elenydd, and that night they were between Keri and Arwystli, at the village which is also called for that reason Mochdref. And thence they travelled onwards, and that night they came as far as the *cymwd* in Powys, which also for that

[16] The very elliptical Welsh expression 'or pryt pwy gilyd' = 'from one time to the other' cannot be translated literally into English. The sense is that given in the translation.

[17] The name 'Mochdref' = Swinetown, Swinton, is of very common occurrence in Wales; and no doubt indicates the existence of an early medieval pig-breeding village. The 'moch' in Mochnant does not, however, = 'swine'; but is an adjective meaning 'winding' or 'rapid'. Mochnant = the rapid brook. The whole passage is another typical specimen of medieval philological derivation.

reason is called Mochnant, and there they tarried that night. And they travelled thence as far as Cantref Rhos, and there they were that night within the village which is still called Mochdref.

'Ah, men,' said Gwydyon, 'we will make for the
R.B. 63 stronghold of Gwynedd with these animals; there is a mustering of hosts in pursuit of us.' So they journeyed to the highest village of Arllechwedd, and there they made a sty for the swine, and for that reason was the name Creuwyryon[18] given to that village. And then, after making a sty for the swine, they proceeded to Math, the son of Mathonwy, as far as Caer Dathyl. And when they came there, he was mustering the country.

'What news is there here?' said Gwydyon. 'Pryderi is raising one and twenty *cantrefi* in pursuit of you,' said they. 'Strange is the slowness with which you have travelled.' 'Where are the animals in quest of
W.B. 87 which[19] you went?' said Math. 'A sty has been made for them in the other *cantref* below,'[20] said Gwydyon.

Thereupon, behold, they heard the trumpets calling to arms in the land.[21] Then they arrayed themselves and set forward till they reached Penardd in Arfon.

[18] 'Creu'=sty. The derivation of Creuwyryon from 'creu' is another instance of medieval philology.

[19] Lit., 'in whose track'.

[20] The 'cantref' of Arllechwedd was divided into two 'cymydau', Cymwd Uchaf and Cymwd Isaf. The reference to the 'other cantref below' appears to be to Cymwd Isaf. It is not uncommon to find some confusion in the use of the terms 'cantref' and 'cymwd'.

[21] The common mode of summoning to arms was by the blowing

And that night Gwydyon, the son of Don, and Gilfaethwy, his brother, returned to Caer Dathyl, and he put Gilfaethwy and Goewin, the daughter of Pebin,[2] to sleep together in Math the son of Mathonwy's bed,[22] and he turned out the maids roughly. And that night he slept with her against her will.

When they saw the day on the morrow, they proceeded to the place where were Math, the son of Mathonwy, and his armed host. When they came, those men were going to take counsel on what side they should await Pryderi and the men of the south.[23] And

of battle-horns. All free men had at once to assemble in order to repel invasion. Giraldus remarks on the eagerness with which men left their ploughs in old Wales the moment the horn of battle sounded.

[22] R.B. reads, 'ac y gwelei uath uab mathonw dodi giluaethwy a goewin y gyt gyscu'. W.B. is similar. Professor Ifor Williams would amend to read, 'ac y gwelei *Gwydyon* dodi . . . &c.', i.e., 'and Gwydyon saw Gilfaethwy and Goewin put to sleep together'. Professor W. J. Gruffydd translates, 'and Math, son of Mathonwy, saw Gilvaethwy and Goewin . . . placed to sleep together'. Neither will permit, on alleged philological grounds, 'y gwelei' (he saw) to be read as 'ẏ(n) gwely' (in bed). Professor Gruffydd's version, which retains the words 'Math, son of Mathonwy', is quite impossible, for it ignores the fact that, at the time, Math was at Penardd, and not at Caer Dathyl, and moreover, he knew nothing of the rape of Goewin until she told him of it later. Professor Williams, apparently being aware of this, is constrained to do violence to the actual texts. We fail to see any real difficulty. There is such a thing as a scribal error. A little farther on (R.B. p. 65) the fact that the offence took place in Math's own chamber and bed ('a hynny yth ystauell ac yth wely di') is especially emphasized by Goewin, and, in reality, the place of the offence made it all the more heinous.

[23] The point of this sentence is that Math and his host were uncertain which side of the mountain Pryderi would be likely to

they went into the council. It was resolved in their council to wait in the strongholds of Gwynedd in Arfon. And they waited between the two *maenawr*,[24] Maenawr Penardd and Maenawr Coed Alun. And there Pryderi attacked them, and there there was the battle and great slaughter on both sides, and the men of the south were forced to retreat. This is the place they retreated to; the place which is still called
R.B. 64 Nantcall. And up to there they were pursued, and there there was an immeasurably vast slaughter. And
W.B. 88 then they retreated as far as the place called Dol Penmaen, and there they rallied,[25] and sought to make peace.

And Pryderi gave hostages for the peace. These were the hostages: Gwrgi Gwastra as the twenty-fourth of the sons of *gwyrda*.

And after this they journeyed in their peace as far as the Traeth Mawr, and as soon as they came to Y Felenryd, the men on foot could not be restrained from shooting. Messengers were dispatched from Pryderi to pray him to forbid the two hosts,[26] and to seek to leave it between him and Gwydyon, the son of Don, for he had caused this.[27]

come up by; and hence they were not certain where to entrench themselves to meet his attack.

[24] ' Maenawr ', often wrongly confused with the English word ' manor ', was a settlement occupied by serfs.

[25] ' clymu a wnaethant '; lit. ' made a knot '.

[26] ' y deulu '. Cf. with note 4 to ' Branwen '. The passage can be construed as ' his bodyguard '.

[27] Reference, of course, to the medieval practice of decision of battle by single champions.

And the message came to Math, the son of Mathonwy. 'Yea,' said Math,[28] 'between me and God, if it be pleasing to Gwydyon, the son of Don, I will leave it gladly. I myself will not force any one to go to fight, as long as we ourselves do our utmost.' 'Of a truth,' said the messengers, 'it were fair, says Pryderi, that the man who has done him this wrong should oppose his body to his own body, and keep the two hosts[26] secure.' 'By my confession to God, I will not ask the men of Gwynedd to fight because of me, if I myself am allowed to fight Pryderi. I myself will oppose my body to his gladly.' And that (reply) was sent to Pryderi.

'Yea,' said Pryderi, 'I myself will bid no one demand my right but myself.'

Those men went apart, and began to arm themselves, and they fought. And by powerful strength and fierceness, and by magic and charms Gwydyon conquered,[2] and Pryderi was slain. And at Maen Tyuyawc,[29] above Y Felenryd, he was buried, and there his grave is. W.B. 89

[28] For reasons which are not apparent, Professor Gruffydd transposes the order of the texts at this point.

[29] L. G.'s rendering of this as 'Maentwrog' has often been condemned on the ground that 'Maen Tyuyawc' could never, philologically, have become Maen Twrog. It does not seem to have occurred to the philologists that the text may be corrupt in spelling. Any one who knows the countryside will have no difficulty in accepting L. G.'s version. The line of the retreat is quite clear; in fact, the only line of retreat, after crossing the Traeth Mawr, is past Rhyd (Y Felenryd of the text) to Maentwrog, making for the direct route south through the Ganllwyd valley.

The men of the south set forth with mournful dirges towards their own land; nor was it to be wondered at. They had lost their lord, and many of their best men, and the greater part of their horses and their arms.

R.B. 65 The men of Gwynedd returned joyful with victory. 'Lord,' said Gwydyon to Math, 'would it not be right for us to release to the men of the south their nobleman, whom they gave as hostage for peace to us, and we ought not to keep him in captivity.' 'Let him be set free,' said Math. So that youth and the hostages that were with him were let go after the men of the south.

Then Math set forth to Caer Dathyl. Gilfaethwy, the son of Don, and the bodyguard that was with him, set out to make the *cylch*[5] of Gwynedd as they were wont, without proceeding to the court.

Then Math went into his chamber, and caused a place to be prepared for him whereon to rest, so that he might put[30] his feet in the hollow of the maiden's abdomen. 'Lord,' said Goewin, 'seek a maid who may be under your feet now. I am a wife.'[31] 'What means this?' said he. 'An assault,[32] lord, came upon

[30] R.B. 'kaffei'; W.B. 'carei', i.e., 'as he loved'.

[31] The word 'gwraig' in Med. W. meant any one who was not a maiden.

[32] The word 'cyrch', 'assault', in Med. W. meant not only the act of assault, but the 'gang' assaulting. There could be no 'cyrch' except by a gang, nor could there be such a thing as a secret 'cyrch'; it must be an open, public assault by a number of persons.

me, and this openly; and I was not silent. There was no one in the court who knew not of it. This is the gang[32] that came:[33] your nephews, sons of your sister, lord, Gwydyon, the son of Don, and Gilfaethwy, the W.B. 90
son of Don. To me they did violence,[34] and to you dishonour. He slept with me, and that in your chamber and in your own bed.' 'Yea,' said he, 'what I can, I will do.[1] I will cause you to be righted first, and after, my own right will I be (in pursuit of). And as for you,' said he, 'I will take you as my wife, and I will give into your hands authority in my dominions.'

And then they came not into the neighbourhood of the Court, but continued their *cylch*[5] of the land, until a forbiddance[35] came to them on their food and drink. At first they did not come into his neighbourhood. Then they came to him. 'Lord,' said they, 'good day to you.' 'Yea,' said he, 'is it to do right to me that you are come?' 'Lord, we are in your will.'[36] 'Had it been R.B. 66
my will,[36] I would not have lost the men and arms I have lost. You cannot pay me for my shame, let alone

33 W.B. reads, 'these came'.

34 'treis', 'violence', 'act of force'. An offence committed with 'treis' was punished as two offences: the offence itself, and the 'treis' used in accomplishing it.

35 This 'forbiddance' order was a proclamation of outlawry, pronounced against an absconder, who would not submit to law voluntarily. Any one, thereafter, supplying the absconder with food or drink became liable to punishment himself. The text indicates that it was this 'forbiddance' order that forced Gwydyon and Gilfaethwy eventually to come in.

36 'ewyllys'; the Med. 'misericordia'. The second 'will' is a play on the two meanings of 'ewyllys'.

the death of Pryderi. But since you are come into my will, I shall begin a punishment upon you.'

And then he took his magic wand, and struck Gilfaethwy,[37] so that he became a large hind, and he seized the other quickly, so that had he wished to escape, he could not, and struck him with the same magic wand, so that he became a stag. 'Since you are in bondage, I will make you travel[38] together, and be
W.B. 91 coupled, and of the same nature as the wild beasts whose guise you are in. And in the time there should be issue to them, there shall be (such) to you. And a year to-day come hither to me.'

At the end of a year from that day, lo! he heard a noise from under the chamber-wall, and the barking of the dogs of the court answering[39] the noise. 'Look,' said he, 'what is outside.' 'Lord,' said one, 'I have looked. There are there a stag and a hind and a fawn along with them.' And thereupon he arose and came outside. And when he came, he saw the three beasts.[40] These were the three beasts: a stag, a hind, and a vigorous fawn. This is what he did; he lifted up his wand. 'The one of you who was a hind last year shall be a wild boar this year; the one of you who was a stag last year shall be a

37 The whole of the 'transformation' passages which follow have been misrendered by Lady Guest, no doubt under a sense of delicacy. In doing so, she has missed the tremendous vigour of the original.

38 'cerdded', 'gerdet'='to walk'; but it implies 'living together as a couple' in this passage.

39 'am benn'. Lit. 'in opposition to'.

40 R.B. has 'tri llydyn'; but W.B. gives one word 'trillydyn', which can be translated as the 'trinity of beasts'.

sow this year.' And thereupon he struck them with the magic wand. 'The young one, however, I will take and cause to be nurtured and baptized.' This is the name that he gave him: Hyddwn. 'Go you, and be the one a wild boar, and the other a wild sow. And the nature that belongs to the wild pig shall be yours. And a year from to-day be you here under the wall, and your issue along with you.'

At the end of a year, behold, they heard the barking of dogs under the chamber-wall, and a mustering of the court, for that reason, against them. Thereupon he himself arose and went outside, and when he came out, he saw three beasts.[40] This is the type of beast he saw: a wild boar and a wild sow, and a very fine young one[41] with them. And he was huge for the age that was his. 'Yea,' said he, 'this one I will take to myself, and cause him to be baptized.' And he struck him with the magic wand, so that he became a handsome, rich-auburn-haired youth. This is the name that he gave him: Hychdwn. 'And you, the one of you who was a boar last year shall be a wolf-bitch this year, and the one who was a sow last year shall be a wolf-dog this year.' And thereupon he struck them with his magic wand, so that they became a wolf-dog and a wolf-bitch. 'And the nature of the animals whose forms you are in shall be yours; and be you here beneath this wall in a year from to-day.'

R.B. 67

W.B. 92

On the same day, at the end of the year, behold, he heard a clamour and a barking of dogs under the wall

[41] The Welsh word 'llwdn' means 'a young one of any species'.

of the chamber. He arose and went outside. And when he came, behold, he saw a wolf-dog and a wolf-bitch, and a strong wolf-cub along with them. 'This one I will take,' said he, 'and cause him to be baptized, and his name is ready for him. This is it: Bleiddwn. You have three sons, and the three are these:

'The three sons of Gilfaethwy the false,
The three true champions,
Bleiddwn, Hyddwn, and Hychdwn Hir.'

And thereupon he struck them both with the magic wand, so that they were in their own flesh. 'Oh, men,' said he, 'if you have done me wrong, sufficient have you been in pain. And great shame have you had,
W.B. 93 having young each one of you of the other. Prepare now a bath for the men and wash their heads, and clothe them.' And it was prepared for them.

And after they were clothed, they repaired to him. 'Oh, men,' said he, 'you have obtained peace, and you
R.B. 68 shall have friendship. Will you give me counsel what maiden I shall seek?' 'Lord,' said Gwydyon, the son of Don, 'it is easy to counsel you: Aranrod, the daughter of Don, your niece, your sister's daughter.'

She was brought to him.[42] The maiden came inside. 'Ha, maid,' said he, 'are you a maiden?' 'I know not, lord, that I am otherwise.' Then he took up the magic wand, and bent it. 'Step you over this,' said he, 'and if you are a maiden, I shall know.'

Then she stepped over the magic wand, and as she

[42] The episode which follows has been misrendered by L. G.; again, no doubt, under a sense of delicacy. Her rendering is meaningless, and obscures the point of the story.

stepped, she left a large rich-yellow-haired boy behind her. [And the boy uttered a loud wail.][2] After the boy's cry she rushed to the door, and thereupon she left something small behind her; and before any one could get a second glimpse of it, Gwydyon took it, and flung a sheet of brocaded silk around it, and hid it. This is where he hid it: in a small chest at the foot of his bed.

'Yea,' said Math, the son of Mathonwy, to the rich-yellow-haired boy, 'I will have him baptized, and this is the name I will give him: Dylan.'

The boy was baptized, and as soon as he was baptized, he plunged into the sea. And immediately as he W.B. 94
entered the sea he took the nature of the sea, and swam as well as the best fish in the sea. And for that reason was he called Dylan, the son of the Wave. Beneath him no wave ever broke, and the blow whence death came to him his uncle Govannon struck. And that was the third villainous blow.[43]

One day as Gwydyon was in his bed and was awakening, he heard a wail in the chest at his feet. Though it was not loud, it was loud enough for him to hear it. Then he arose quickly and opened the chest; and as he opened it, he saw a small boy stretching out his arms from the folds of the sheet, and casting it aside.

43 This blow to Dylan is not, save in this passage, included in the Triad of Villainous Blows. The three villainous blows of the Triad are the one to Branwen (related in the story of that name), the one to Gwenhwyfar by Gwenhwyfach (incidentally introduced in Peredur), and the one to Cadwaladr by Golyddan Fardd (which finds no place in the Mabinogion).

And he took the boy in both his arms, and set out with him to the town, where he knew there was a woman
R.B. 69 that could nurse him.[44] And he made a bargain with the woman to rear the boy. The boy was nursed for that year.

And at the end of the year they would have marvelled at his size, if he had been two years old. At the end of the second year he was a big child, and able to go to the court by himself. And when he came to the court, Gwydyon himself took notice of him, and the boy became accustomed to him and loved him better than any one. Then was the boy reared in the court until he was four years old, and it would have been a marvel
W.B. 95 for a boy of eight years to be as big as he.

And one day he walked after Gwydyon, to journey outside. And he set out for Caer Aranrod, and the boy with him. After their coming to the court, Aranrod rose to meet him, and greeted him, and bade him welcome. 'God prosper you,' said he. 'Who is the boy following you?' she said. 'This boy is your son,' said he. 'Alas, man! what should possess you to shame me? Is it right to keep my shame so long as this?' 'If there be on you no greater shame than having so fine a boy as this nurtured by me, very small a thing will your shame be.' 'What is the name of your boy?' said she. 'Of a truth,' said he, 'he has not yet any name.' 'Yea,' said she, 'I will swear a destiny upon him, that he shall not have a name until he gets it from me.' 'By my confession to God,' said he, 'you are a

[44] Lit. 'with breasts upon her'.

wicked woman. And the boy shall have a name, although it may be ill to you. As for you,' said he, 'this is what you are, and the anger upon you, that you are not called a maiden.[45] You never will be called a maid again.' And thereupon he went forth in wrath, and proceeded to Caer Dathyl, and there he tarried that night.

And next day he arose and took the boy with him, and went to walk on the sea-shore between there and Aber Menai. And where he saw dulse[46] and laminaria,[46] he enchanted a ship. And out of seaweed[46] and dulse he enchanted Cordovan leather, and a great deal thereof, and he coloured it so that no one ever saw leather more beautiful than it. And then he fashioned a sail upon the ship, and he and the boy came in the ship to the harbour-gate of Caer Aranrod. And there he began shaping shoes and stitching them. And thereupon he was observed from the fort. And when he knew he was being observed from the fort, he took away their own appearance, and put another semblance on them, so that they would not be recognized. 'What persons are those in the ship?' said Aranrod. 'Shoemakers,' said they. 'Go and see what kind of leather they have, and what kind of work they are doing.'

R.B. 70; W.B. 96

45 There is, perhaps, some textual corruption here. Apparently the sense is that Gwydyon accuses Aranrod of being annoyed because she failed to become Math's 'maiden', having failed at the test which would have proved her maidenhood.

46 'delysc' = 'dulse, edible seaweed'; 'morwyal' = 'laminaria'. 'Guimon' = seaweed. Vice 'guimon', which is the W.B. reading, R.B. has 'gwynnon' = 'dry sticks'. But *infra*, both texts give 'guimon'.

So they came to them. And when they came, he was colouring some Cordovan leather, and that in gold. Then the messengers came and told her that. 'Yea,' said she, 'take the measure of my foot, and desire the shoemaker to make shoes for me.' So he shaped the shoes, and not according to measure, but larger.

They came with the shoes to her. Behold, the shoes were too large. 'These are too large,' said she, 'he shall receive the price of these; let him, besides, make some that are smaller than they.' This is what he did: he made some others much smaller than her foot, and sent them to her. 'Tell him that these shoes will not fit me,' said she. They told him that. 'Yea,' said he, 'I will not shape shoes for her, unless I see her foot.'
W.B. 97 And that was told her. 'Yea,' said she, 'I will go to him.'

And then she came to the ship, and when she came there, he was shaping shoes, and the boy was stitching. 'Yea, lady,' said he, 'good-day to you.' 'God prosper you,' said she, 'I marvel that you cannot proportion and make[1] shoes to measure.' 'I could not,' he said,
R.B. 71 'now I can.'

And thereupon, behold, a wren standing upon the deck of the ship. The boy shot at it, and hit it between the nerves of the leg and the bone. Then she laughed. 'Of a truth,' said she, 'with what a practised hand (llaw gyffes) did this bright youth (lleu) hit the mark.'[47]

47 The Welsh words given in brackets show how the name was bestowed; but reference must be made to the word 'Lleu'. Except in one case in the W.B., it is spelt 'llew'='lion'; but

'Yes,' said he, 'God be ungracious to you; verily he has got a name, and good enough is his name. Lleu Llaw Gyffes is he henceforth.'

And then the work vanished in dulse and in seaweed, and he pursued the work no further than that. And for that reason he was called the third Gold-shoemaker.[48] 'Of a truth,' said she, 'you will not thrive the better for being evil to me.' 'I have not been evil to you yet,' said he. And then he let the boy return to his own semblance, [and he resumed his own form.][2] 'Yes,' said she, 'I myself will lay a fate upon this boy; he shall never have arms until I put them on him.' 'Between me and God,' said he, 'let whatever may come out of your malice, he shall have arms.'

Then they came to Dinas Dinllef, and there he nurtured Lleu Llaw Gyffes, until he could ride every horse, and till he was perfect of feature and strength and W.B. 98
stature. And then Gwydyon knew that he was pining away through wanting horses and arms. And he called him to him. 'Ah, youth,' said he, 'we will go, I and you, to-morrow upon a quest. And be more cheerful than you are.' 'That will I do,' said the youth.

In the youth of the day, next morning, they arose and went along the sea-coast up towards Bryn Aryeu.[49]

the original form was undoubtedly 'lleu', freely rendered as 'the bright youth'. The real significance of 'lleu' is that of 'light'. Professor Gruffydd identifies Lleu with the Irish 'Lugh', and has an interesting discussion as to the meaning of 'Lleu Llaw Gyffes'.

[48] For this Triad see note 21 to 'Manawydan'.

[49] Professor Gruffydd rightly points out that the Bryn Aryen of the texts is a scribal error for Bryn Aryeu, modern Bryn Aerau.

And at the highest point of Cefn Clydno they equipped themselves with horses, and came to Caer Aranrod. And then they changed their appearance, and journeyed to the gate in the form of two young men, but the appearance of Gwydyon was wiser than that of the boy. 'Porter,' said he, 'go inside and say that there are bards
R.B. 72 from Glamorgan here.'[50] The porter went. 'The grace of God be with them. Let them in,' said she. And great joy was there towards them. The hall was arranged and they went to eat. When they had finished eating, she discoursed with Gwydyon of tales and stories. Gwydyon himself was an excellent teller of tales. When it was time to quit the carousal, a chamber was prepared for them, and they went to sleep.

In the early twilight[51] Gwydyon arose, and then he
W.B. 99 called to himself his magic and his power. By the time the day was breaking, there was a mustering and trumpets, and a loud resounding wailing in the land. When day was coming, they heard a knocking at the chamber door, and thereupon Aranrod demanding it to be opened.

The young man arose and opened it. She entered and a maiden along with her. 'Ah, *gwyrda*,' said she, 'we are in evil plight.' 'Yea,' said he, 'we hear trumpets and wailing; and what think you of it?' 'Of a truth,' said she, 'we cannot see the colour of the waves for all the ships thronged together. And they

[50] In ancient Wales the Glamorgan bards were regarded as the most skilful bards in the land.

[51] 'hir bylgeint'='towards cockcrow'.

are making for the land as quickly as they can. And what shall we do?' said she. 'Lady,' said Gwydyon, 'we have no other counsel save to close the fort on us; and to defend it as best we can.' 'Yea,' said she, 'God reward you. Do you defend it; and here you may have plenty of arms.'

And thereupon she went for the arms, and behold she comes, and two maidens along with her, and armour for two men with them. 'Lady,' said he, 'equip this youth, and I myself, I and the maidens, will equip myself. I hear the noise of the men coming.' 'That I will do gladly.' And she equipped him joyfully and fully. 'And have you finished equipping that youth?' said he. 'I have finished,' said she. 'Now I myself have R.B. 73
finished,' said he. 'Let us take off our arms; we have no W.B. 100
need of them.' 'Och,' said she, 'why? Behold the fleet around the place.' 'Ah, woman, there is no fleet there.' 'Och,' said she, 'what then was this tumult about?' 'A tumult,' said he, 'to break your curse upon your son, and to obtain arms for him. And now he has obtained arms, without thanks to you.' 'Between me and God,' said she, 'you are a wicked man. From it many a boy might have lost his life, because of the uproar you have caused in this *cantref* to-day. And I will lay a fate upon the boy,' said she. 'He shall never have a wife of the race that is now upon this earth.' 'Yea,' said he, 'you were ever a malicious woman, and no one ought to be of aid to you. A wife shall he have, nevertheless.'

They came to Math, the son of Mathonwy, and

complained most bitterly about Aranrod; and he (Gwydyon) told him how he had procured all arms for him. 'Yes,' said Math, 'we will seek, I and you, by our charms and our illusion, to enchant a wife for him out of flowers.' Now he had come to man's stature, and he was the handsomest youth that man had ever beheld. And they took the flowers of the oak, and the flowers of the broom, and the flowers of the meadow-sweet, and out of them invoked the fairest and most comely maiden that man ever saw.[52] And they bap-
W.B. 101 tized her with the baptism which was used there,[53] and gave her the name of Blodeuwedd.

After they had slept together, they feasted. 'It is not easy', said Gwydyon, 'for a man without dominions to maintain himself.' 'Yea,' said Math, 'I will give him the best *cantref* for a young man to have.' 'Lord,' said he, 'what *cantref* is that?' 'Cantref Dinodig,' said he. (And that is now called Eifionydd and
R.B. 74 Ardudwy).[54] This is the place in the *cantref* which he occupied as his court, the place which is called Mur y Castell,[55] which is in the uplands of Ardudwy. And there he dwelt and ruled, and every one was pleased with him and his sway.

[52] The implication is, perhaps, worth noting. Oak for strength and constancy; broom for fairness; meadow-sweet for gentleness.

[53] Cf. with note 87 to 'Pwyll'.

[54] The old Cantref Dinodig was split into two cantrefi by the Statute of Rhuddlan. This bracketed interpolation dates the copy of the text as subsequent to 1285.

[55] Now known as Tomen-y-Mur, a Roman fort in Merioneth, later occupied, temporarily, by William II in his war against Gruffydd ap Cynan.

And then one day he went forth to Caer Dathyl to visit Math, the son of Mathonwy. On the day that he went to Caer Dathyl, she walked about within the Court. And she heard the sound of a horn. And after the sound of the horn, behold a tired stag going by, and dogs and huntsmen after it. And after the dogs and the huntsmen, a throng of men coming on foot. 'Let a servant go', said she, 'to learn who the host yonder is.' The servant went, and inquired who they were. 'Gronw Pebyr is this, the man who is lord over Penllyn,' said they. That the servant told her.

He continued after the stag, and on the river Cynfael he overtook the stag and killed it. And upon flaying the stag and feeding his dogs he was engaged till night pressed upon him. W.B. 102

And as the day was departing and the night drawing near, he came past the gate of the court. 'Of a truth,' said she, 'we shall be satirized[56] by the chief, if we let him go at this hour to another land without inviting him in.' 'Truly, lady,' said they, 'it will be most fitting to invite him in.'

Then messengers went to him to invite him; and he accepted the invitation gladly, and came to the court; and she herself came towards him to greet him and bid him welcome. 'Lady,' said he, 'God repay you for your kindness.'

He went to change;[57] they went to sit down. And

[56] 'goganu' = to satirize, lampoon. The holding up to ridicule or detestation by means of 'satire' is frequently mentioned in Celtic literature, especially in Irish.

[57] See note 23 to 'Pwyll'.

Blodeuwedd looked upon him, and from the moment she looked, she had no thought which was not full of love for him. And he gazed on her, and the same thought came to him as came to her. He could not
R.B. 75 conceal that he was in love with her, and he told her so. She took to herself great joy. And their conversation that night was concerning the affection and love which each of them had given to the other. It was not long ere they embraced each other; not longer than that night. That night they slept together.

And the next day he sought to depart. 'Of a truth,'
W.B. 103 said she, 'go not away from me to-night.' That night they passed together also. And that night they had a discussion by what means they might be together. 'There is no counsel', said he, 'but one: to strive to learn from him in what manner his death may come. And that under pretence of care for him.'[58]

The next day he sought to depart. 'Of a truth,' said she, 'I do not advise you to leave me to-day.' 'Truly, since you do not advise it, I will not go,' said he. 'I say, nevertheless, there is danger that the chief who owns the court may return home.' 'Yes, to-morrow,' said she, 'will I permit you to depart.'

The next day he sought to go, and she did not hinder him. 'Remember', said he, 'what I have said to you, and talk with him earnestly, and that under the guise of dalliance of love for him, and find out from him by what means his death can come.'

[58] As a contrast in types of literature, that which ensues deserves comparison with the story of Samson and Delilah.

That night he (Lleu) came home. The day they passed in discourse and minstrelsy and carousing. And that night they went to sleep together, and he spoke to her, and yet a second time. And he could get no speech thereto.

'What has happened to you?' said he; 'are you well?' 'I am thinking', said she, 'of what you would not think of concerning me. This is what it is,' said she, 'anxiety as to your death, if you should go sooner than I.' 'Yea,' said he, 'God reward your care. But unless God slays me, however, it is not easy to slay me,' said W.B. 104
he. 'For God's sake and mine, tell me how you can be R.B. 76
slain, for my memory in guarding is better than your own.' 'I will tell you gladly,' said he. 'I cannot easily be slain,' said he, 'by a blow. A year must be spent in fashioning the spear wherewith I am to be struck. And nothing must be done upon it except when it shall be Mass on Sunday.' 'Is that certain?' said she. 'Most certain,' said he. 'And I cannot be slain within a house,' said he, 'nor can I outside. I cannot be slain on horseback, nor can I on my feet.' 'Yea,' said she, 'in what manner can you be slain?' 'I will tell you,' said he. 'Making a bath for me on the bank of a river, and putting a wattle hurdle over the tub, and thatching it well and water-tight thereafter. And bringing a buck,' said he, 'and putting it close beside the tub, and myself placing one foot on the buck's back, and the other on the edge of the tub. Whosoever would strike me in that position, he would cause my death.' 'Yea,' said she, 'I thank God for that; it will be possible to avoid that easily.'

No sooner had she had the conversation than she sent news of it to Gronw Pebyr. Gronw toiled at making the spear, and on the very day, at the end of the year, it was ready. And that day he caused her to know that.

W.B. 105 'Lord,' said she, 'I am thinking how that can be true[1] which you told me of formerly; and will you show me how you should be standing on the edge of a tub and upon a buck, if I myself prepare the bath?' 'I will show you,' said he.

She sent to Gronw, and bade him be in ambush on the hill which is now called Bryn Cyfergyr. It was on the bank of the river Cynfael. She herself caused whatever goats there were in the *cantref* to be collected, and brought to the other side of the river, facing Bryn Cyfergyr.

R.B. 77 And the next day she came. 'Lord,' said she, 'I have caused the hurdle and the bath to be prepared, and they are ready.' 'Yea,' said he, 'let us go gladly to see them.'

The next day they came to see the bath. 'Will you go into the bath, lord?' said she. 'Willingly will I go,' said he. He went into the bath, and he bathed himself. 'Lord,' said she, 'behold the animals which you said were called bucks.' 'Yes,' said he, 'have one of them caught, and have it brought here.' And it[59] was brought. Then he himself rose out of the bath, and put on his trousers, and he placed one foot on the edge of the tub, and the other on the buck's back.

Thereupon, Gronw arose up from the hill, which is

59 R.B. 'the buck'.

called Bryn Cyfergyr, and he rose on one knee, and flung a poisoned spear, and struck him in his side, so that the shaft leapt out from it, and the head remained W.B. 106
in him. And then he flew up therefrom in the form of an eagle, and gave a fearful scream. And thenceforth he could not be seen.

As soon as he had gone away, they set out together to the court, and that night they slept together. And the next day, Gronw arose and overran Ardudwy. After he had conquered the land, he ruled over it, so that Ardudwy and Penllyn were in his power.

Then news of it went to Math, the son of Mathonwy. And heaviness and grief came upon Math, and much more upon Gwydyon than upon him. 'Lord,' said Gwydyon, 'I shall never rest until I have tidings of my nephew.' 'Yea,' said Math, 'may God be your strength.'

And then he set forth and began to wander about. And he wandered through Gwynedd and Powys as far as its boundaries. After he had finished wandering everywhere, he came into Arfon, and came to the house of a serf[60] in Maenawr Penardd. He alighted at R.B. 78
the house, and stayed there that night. The man of the house and his family came in, and last of all came the swineherd. The man of the house said to the swineherd, 'Youth,' said he, 'has your sow come in to-night?' 'She has come,' said he, 'she has this moment come to the pigs.' 'What journey does this sow go on?'

[60] 'Mab aillt'. The use of these words, instead of 'taeog', the South Welsh equivalent, indicates a North Welsh origin.

W.B. 107 said Gwydyon. 'Every day when the sty is open, she goes out, and sight cannot be had of her, neither is it known which way she goes more than if she went into the earth.' 'Will you, for my sake,' said Gwydyon, 'not open the sty until I am beside the sty along with you?' 'I will gladly,' said he.

That night they went to sleep, and when the swineherd saw the light of day, he awoke Gwydyon. And Gwydyon arose and dressed himself, and came with the swineherd, and stood by the sty. The swineherd opened the sty. As soon as it was opened, behold, she leaped forth, and set off with great speed. And Gwydyon followed her, and she went upstream and made for a dell, which is now called Nant Llew. And there she halted and fed. Gwydyon himself came under the tree, and looked what it was that the sow was feeding on. And he saw that the sow was eating putrid flesh and maggots. Then he looked at the top of the tree, and when he looked he saw an eagle on top of the tree, and when the eagle shook itself, worms and putrid flesh fell from off it, and those the sow was devouring. And he thought that the eagle was Lleu. And he sang an *englyn*:[61]

W.B. 108 'Oak that grows between two lakes;
Darkened are the sky and valley!
Unless I speak falsely, these are the limbs of Lleu.'

R.B. 79 Upon this, the eagle itself came down until it was in

[61] For suggestions for a new rendering of these three *englynion* see Prof. Ifor Williams in *Arch. Camb.* (Dec. 1928), pp. 354–5.

the centre of the tree. Then Gwydyon himself sang another *englyn*:

'An oak grows on upland ground,
Rain does not soak it, no more does the heat melt it.
Nine score tempests has it borne.
On its top is Lleu Llaw Gyffes.'

And then it came down until it was on the lowest branch of the tree; then he sang an *englyn* to it:

'Oak that grows beneath the steep;
Of comely majesty is its form;
Unless I speak falsely,
Lleu shall come to my lap.'

And it came down on to Gwydyon's knee. And then Gwydyon struck it with his magic wand, so that he returned to his own form. No one ever saw a more piteous sight upon a man, however, than there was upon him. He was nothing but skin and bone.

Then he proceeded to Caer Dathyl, and there was brought to him what of good physicians there were in Gwynedd. Before the end of the year, he was quite healed.

'Lord,' said he to Math, the son of Mathonwy, 'it is full time for me to have right[62] of the man from whom I have had woe.' 'Of a truth,' said Math, 'he cannot withhold himself while he owes you amends.' 'Yea,' said he, 'the sooner I have my right, the best will it be for me.'

Then they mustered Gwynedd, and set forth to Ardudwy. Gwydyon marched in front, and proceeded to Mur y Castell. When Blodeuwedd heard that they were coming, she took her maidens with her, W.B. 109

[62] 'to have right' = to receive a quid pro quo, whether by vengeance or process of law.

and set out for the mountain. And through the river Cynfael they reached a court that was on the mountain, and through fear, they knew not how to walk except with their faces looking backwards. And so they knew not till they fell into the lake. And they were all drowned except she herself, and then Gwydyon overtook her. And he said to her, 'I will not slay you, but I will do that which is worse to you. This is it,' said he: 'I will let you go in the form of a bird; and because of
R.B. 80 the shame you have done to Lleu Llaw Gyffes, you shall never dare to show your face in the light of day; and that through fear of all the birds. [There shall be enmity between you and all birds],[2] and it shall be their nature to attack you, and to insult you, wherever they may find you. And you shall not lose your name, but shall always be called Blodeuwedd.' Now Blodeuwedd is an owl in the language of this present time, and for that reason is the owl hostile to birds. (And even now the owl is called Blodeuwedd.)[63]

Then Gronw Pebyr set out for Penllyn, and from there he sent messengers. This is the message he sent.
W.B. 110 He asked Lleu Llaw Gyffes if he would take land or soil or gold or silver for the insult.[64] 'I will not, by my

[63] The occurrence of this phrase here, after having been used just previously, is of importance; for it shows that the copyist was verifying, as existing in his own time, that which his predecessor had noted as prevalent in his. The word literally means 'flower-featured'. We are not aware of the name being applied to an owl to-day.

[64] 'Sarhad', insult; for which a definite scale of compensation was payable. Adultery, however, though it entailed 'sarhad', and

confession to God,' said he. 'And behold, this is the least thing that I will accept from him; to go to the spot where I was, when he wounded me with a spear, and I myself to the spot where he was, and to let me hurl a spear at him. And that is the very least thing that I will accept from him.'

That was told to Gronw Pebyr. 'Yea,' said he, 'it is right for me to do that. My faithful *gwyrda*, and my bodyguard, and my foster-brothers, is there one among you who will take the blow in my stead?' 'There is not, of a truth,' said they. And because of their refusal to suffer taking[2] one blow for their lord, they are called to this day the third disloyal bodyguard.[65] 'Yea,' said he, 'I will take it.'

And then they both came to the bank of the river Cynfael. And there Gronw Pebyr[2] stood in the place where Lleu Llaw Gyffes was when he struck him, and Lleu in the place where he was. And then Gronw Pebyr said[66] to Lleu, 'Lord,' said he, 'since it was through the evil thought of a woman that I did to you

in so far entailed compensation, was not, in itself, compoundable. The appropriate remedy was revenge. The point of the story here is that to avoid 'revenge', Gronw was offering compensation; but could not offer any 'legal' compensation, for none was fixed by law for all he had done.

65 The Triad to which reference is here made gives the bodyguard of Gwrgi and Peredur, and the bodyguard of Alan Fergan (neither of which are mentioned in the Mabinogion) as the other two disloyal bodyguards. Each bodyguard was said to have consisted of 120 men. The characteristic of loyalty in the 'teulu' has been mentioned in note 24 to 'Pwyll'.

66 W.B. 'came'.

what I did do,[67] I implore you by God. The slab[68]
R.B. 81 that I see on the river's bank, let me place it between me and the blow.' 'Of a truth,' said Lleu, 'I will not refuse you that.' 'Yea,' said he, 'may God
W.B. 111 reward you.' And then Gronw took the slab, and placed it between him and the blow.

And then Lleu flung his spear at him, and it pierced through the slab, and through him, so that it broke his back. And then was Gronw Pebyr slain. And the slab is still there on the banks of the river Cynfael in Ardudwy, and the hole through it. And for that reason is it still called Llech Gronwy.

Then a second time Lleu Llaw Gyffes took possession of the land, and governed it prosperously. And, as the story says,[69] he was, thereafter, lord over Gwynedd.

And thus ends this branch of the Mabinogi.

[67] Cf. with Adam's 'It was the woman who tempted me'.

[68] 'llech', a slate-slab. The use of the word here shows the intimate knowledge the redactor must have had with the neighbourhood in which the story is set. The site is at the foot of the range of slate mountains which rise up to the great quarries of Blaenau Festiniog. The name 'Llech Gronw' still survives as that of a farm-house.

[69] The 'story' is apparently some pre-existing record used by the redactor. The phrase is met with more than once in these stories, and points, therefore, to an earlier original.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE DREAM OF MACSEN WLEDIG

THERE are three texts of 'The Dream of Macsen Wledig'. The R.B. text (pp. 82–92) and the W.B. text (cols. 178–91), from Peniarth MS. IV, are complete; the second of the W.B. texts (pp. 90–4), from Peniarth MS. XVI, is incomplete, ending abruptly in the middle of a sentence at a point corresponding with R.B. 89 and W.B. 188. The R.B. and W.B. (MS. IV) texts are almost identical, save for differences in orthography; and the one must either have been copied from the other, orthography being changed, or a common original was used. The language of MS. XVI seems to be much older than that employed in the other MSS.; and there is a considerable number of variations also in it, some of minor, others of major, importance. This MS. has clearly been copied from a still older original, as is evidenced by certain errors in transcription.

'The Dream of Macsen Wledig' is a beautifully balanced piece of literary composition, and, when recited, is full of dramatic and humorous touches. In fact, its full force only comes out in recitation.

In descriptive power, there are passages in Macsen Wledig of the highest standard; and it is well worth comparing the crispness and directness of the Welsh with passages in Malory, who assigns certain of the incidents to Arthur's march on Rome. The comparison is all in favour of the Dream.

It is built round the life of Maxentius, the Spanish-born Emperor who challenged and defeated Gratian, to meet himself with destruction eventually at Aquilea. The tale is, historically, inaccurate; but it is of great value as showing how the tradition of Rome, ethereal-ized in characteristic Welsh fashion, survived in Wales into the twelfth or thirteenth century, the probable date of the existing redactions.

The *motif* of the Dream is the union of the glory and power of Rome with the beauty of Wales, creating a vision of a world conquered thereby.

The geography of the story is, in the main, that of the neighbourhood of Rome and of Caernarfon, where was situated the old Roman fort of Segontium or Caer Seint.

THE DREAM OF MACSEN WLEDIG

This is the Dream of Macsen Wledig.[1] R.B. 82

MACSEN WLEDIG was Emperor in Rome, and he was the handsomest and wisest of men, and he ruled as Emperor better than any that there had been before him. And one day he had a council of kings; and he said to those he loved, 'I wish', said he, 'to go to hunt to-morrow.' Next day, in the morning, he set forth with his host; and they came to the valley of the river which flows down to Rome. He hunted the valley till it was midday. With him there that day,[3] moreover, were two and thirty crowned kings, men[4] unto him. Not mainly[3] for the delight of hunting did the Emperor hunt with so many as that; but in order to act as beseemed the rank of a man who was lord over so many kings. W.B. c. 178, p. 90 W.B. 179

And the sun was high in the sky over their heads; and the heat was great. And sleep came to him; and the pages of his chamber[5] spread out their shields around him on the shafts of their spears to ward off the sun.[6] They placed a gold-chased shield under his head. And so Macsen slept.

And then he saw a dream. This is the dream he saw. He was walking through the valley of the river towards

1 Not in W.B. 2 Not in R.B.

3 In W.B. XVI only. 4 See note 37 to 'Pwyll'.

5 'gwas ystafell'; see note 19 to 'Pwyll'. W.B. XVI gives the correct wording 'weissyon ysteuyll'. W.B. changes 'ysteuyll' into 'stefyll', the 't' being faint; and R.B. reads 'seuyll'=to stand, and accordingly gives no sense.

6 W.B. XVI, 'excessive heat'.

R.B. 83 its source, and he came to the highest mountain in the world.[7] He thought that the mountain was as high as the sky; and when he had come across the mountain, he saw that he was travelling through the fairest and most level countries man ever saw, on the other side of the mountain. And great mighty rivers he saw running from the mountain to the sea, and he journeyed towards the estuaries of the rivers. However long he so journeyed, he came to the mouth of the largest mighty river any one had seen, and a mighty fortified city[8] he saw at the river mouth, and a mighty
W.B. 180 fort round about[9] the city, and mighty towers, with many different colours, saw he on the fort. And he saw a fleet at the mouth of the river; and it was the largest fleet any one had ever seen. And he saw a ship in the midst of the fleet, and it was far larger and fairer than all of the others. And of what he could see of the ship above the water,[10] the one plank he saw was of gold, and the other of silver. He saw a bridge of walrus-ivory[11] from the ship to the land; and he thought that he walked across the bridge until he came into the ship.[12] Sail was hoisted on the ship, and on the sea and the waves he sailed in her.

7 W.B. XVI, 'he had ever seen'.

8 'dinas'=fortified city.

9 W.B. XVI; R.B. and W.B. read 'in'.

10 R.B. and W.B. 'sea'.

11 'ascwrn moruil', to distinguish from 'asgwrn eliphant', elephant ivory. L. G. has rendered 'whalebone', which misses both the sense and the beauty of the image.

12 W.B. XVI version. The other texts read, 'and he seemed to be coming along the bridge to the ship'.

He saw that he came to the fairest island in the whole world, and after he had travelled across the island from sea to sea, to the farthest bounds of the island, he saw valleys and steep places[13] and high rocks, and a land[14] rugged and fertile, the like of which he had never seen. And thence he saw in the sea, facing that fertile land, an island,[1] and, between himself and that island, he saw a country, the plain whereof was as wide as its sea, and the woodland whereof was as long as its mountain.[15]

And from that mountain he saw a river flowing through the land and falling into the sea. And at the river's mouth he saw a mighty castle, the fairest man ever saw; and the gate of the castle he saw open. And he came into the castle. In the castle he saw a fair hall; the roof[16] of R.B. 84
the hall seemed to be entirely gold; the outer walls of the hall seemed to be one mass of glittering precious W.B. 91
stones;[17] the doors[18] of the hall seemed to be all[19] gold.

[13] W.B. XVI, 'vynyded diffwys' = precipitous mountains.

[14] R.B. has mistranscribed the 'a thir' of W.B. as 'eithyr' = moreover.

[15] R.B. reads 'y gwelei ef gwlat a oed kyhyt y maestir ae mor; kyhyt y mynyd ae choet'. So too W.B. W.B. XVI reads, 'e guelei ef wlat a oed gyhyt e maestir ae mor kyhyt y choet ae menyd'. R.B. and W.B. literally read, 'whose plain was as extensive as its sea, and whose mountain was as long as its wood'.

[16] W.B. XVI, 'the tiles'.

[17] R.B. 'cant y neuad a tebygei y uot yn vein llywychedic gwyrthuawr ae gilid'. Similarly W.B.; but W.B. XVI omits the words 'ae gilid', the presence of which induced Professor Anwyl to suggest that 'gwyrthuawr' should read 'gwyrthuawred a'i gilid', i.e. 'as costly as each other'. We have rendered a little freely, to convey the apparent sense intended.

[18] W.B. XVI, 'the floors'. [19] W.B. XVI, 'pure'.

W.B. 181 Couches of gold he saw in the hall[20] and tables of silver, and on the couch facing him he saw two auburn-haired *macwyaid* playing chess.[21] A silver board he saw for the chess, and pieces of red[3] gold on it. The clothes of the *macwyaid* were of pitch-black brocaded silk, and frontlets of red gold on the heads of them both,[3] binding their hair, and glittering stones of great price therein. Red gems and white[3] gems alternating therein, and imperial stones. Buskins of new Cordovan leather upon their feet, and strips of red gold fastening them.

And at the base of a column of the hall he saw a grey-haired man sitting[2] in a chair of ivory, and the image of two eagles in red[2] gold thereon. Golden bracelets were on his arms, and many golden[3] rings upon his hands, and a golden torque around his neck, and a golden frontlet upon his head[3] binding his hair.[22] And he was of imposing appearance. A board of gold and chess in front of him, and a golden rod in his hand, and steel saws. And he was carving chess pieces out of the rod.[3]

And he saw a maiden sitting in front of him in a chair of red gold. Not more easy than it is to look upon the sun when it is brightest was it easy to look upon her,

[20] W.B. XVI, ' thought were in it '.

[21] The game of ' gwyddbwyll ', now quite extinct, was similar to, but not identical with, ' chess '. Skill in the game was regarded as a high accomplishment and one of the hall-marks of the gentleman. The chess-board could never be distrained on for debt.

[22] The whole of this passage indicates a twelfth-century atmosphere, the period in which, especially, gold ornaments on men were in vogue.

because of her beauty.[23] An under tunic[24] of white satin was upon the maiden, with buckles of red gold at the breast, and a surcoat of gold brocaded silk upon her [and a robe like unto it, with buckles of red gold holding the robe on her[2]]. And on her head a frontlet of red gold, with red gems and white[3] gems in the frontlet, and pearls alternating and imperial stones, and a girdle of red gold around her. And the fairest sight for man W.B. 182
to look upon.

And the maiden arose before him from her golden[2] chair, and he placed his two hands around the maid's neck, and they both sat in the golden chair, and the chair R.B. 85
was not more straitened for them both than for the maiden herself. And while he was with his hands round the maiden's neck, and his cheek against her cheek, because of the violence of the dogs at their leashes, and the edges of the shields rubbing against each other, and the shafts of the spears striking together, and the neighing and the stamping of the horses, the Emperor awoke.[25]

[23] W.B. XVI reads, 'it was not (as) easy to gaze or look upon her as upon the sun, when it is most brilliant and bright, because of her beauty'.

[24] 'Crysseu'. Mod. W. 'shirts', or 'vests'. Professor Loth, Vol. I, p. 216, gives the meaning of the 'chainse' in the period preceding the thirteenth century. It appears to have been worn to cover the chest, during the interval which ensued upon the discarding of the long folds of the head-dress (which were thrown across the breast, when the robe was cut V-shaped) and the incoming of the robe closing up to the throat.

[25] W.B. XVI inserts here 'And thereupon he mounted his palfrey, the saddest being man ever saw'; in anticipation of the same words lower down, showing clearly that it is a copy of an earlier transcription.

And when he awoke, neither life, nor existence, nor being had he because of the maid he had seen in his sleep. Not a bone-joint of his, nor the heart of a finger-nail, not to speak of a part that might be greater than they, was there which was not filled with love for the maiden.

And then his bodyguard said unto him, 'Lord,' said they, 'it is past time for you to take your food.'

And thereupon the Emperor mounted his palfrey, the saddest being man ever saw; and he journeyed straightway towards Rome. [Whatever messages they brought unto him, no answer thereto did they receive, because of his sadness and his moodiness. And then he came to the city of Rome.[3]] And so he continued throughout the week.

When his bodyguard went to drink wine and mead
W.B. 92 out of golden vessels, or to enjoy themselves,[3] he would not go with any one of them. When they went to listen to songs and entertainments, he would not go
W.B. 183 with them, and nothing could be got out of him but sleep, for as often as he slept, he would see the woman he loved best with him throughout his sleep.[26] While he was not asleep he could not rest at all because of her, for he knew not where in the world she was.

And one day his page of the chamber said to him (and though he was the page of the chamber to him,[3] he was also[3] the King of the Romans),[27] 'Lord,' said he,

[26] W.B. XVI version. The other manuscripts have, 'as often as he might sleep. The woman that he loved most would he see throughout his sleep'.

[27] According to Bryce, this title was first used at the end of the eleventh century, by the son of the ruling Emperor.

'all your men revile you.' 'Why do they revile me?' said the Emperor. The boy said in answer, 'Because neither your *gwyrda* nor any one get[28] from you either message or other[3] answer, as men should get from their lord. Behold the reason of the reviling there is against you.' 'Ah, boy,' said the Emperor, 'bring to me and[3] around me the wise men of Rome, and I will tell them the cause[3] why I am sad.'

And then the wise men of Rome were brought around the Emperor; and he said to them, 'Wise men of Rome,'[29] said he, 'I have seen a dream, and in the dream I saw a maiden. Nor life, nor existence, nor being is there in me because of the maiden.' 'Lord,' said they, 'since you have burdened[30] us with counselling you, counsel we will give you. And behold our counsel to you. Let messengers go for a space of[3] three years to the three divisions of the earth to seek your dream; and since you know not what day or night good news shall come to you, your hope[31] will sustain you.' R.B. 86

Thereupon the messengers travelled up to the end of the year, wandering through the world, and seeking news concerning the Emperor's[3] dream.

When they returned at the end of the year, they knew not one word more than on the day on which they started. And the Emperor sorrowed then, thinking he would never obtain news of the woman he loved most. W.B. 184

[28] W.B. and R.B. 'they get not'.

[29] W.B. XVI, 'See, gwyrda'.

[30] R.B. reads 'berneist'='adjudged upon', vice W.B. 'byryeisti' or 'bwryeist'.

[31] R.B., W.B. 'that of hope'.

[And then other messengers set forth anew to search through the second division of the world. When they returned at the end of the year, they had obtained not one word about the dream more than on the first day. And then the Emperor sorrowed, thinking he would never have the good fortune to find the woman he loved best throughout his life.][3]

And thereupon the King of the Romans said to the Emperor, 'Lord,' said he, 'proceed to hunt for the road you saw yourself going along, whether towards the east or towards the west.'

And then the Emperor set forth to hunt; and he came as far as the bank of the river [where he had seen his dream, and he said,][3] 'Behold,' said he, 'here was I when I saw the dream, and in the direction of the river's source westwards did I go.'

And then thirteen men travelled on, as messengers of the Emperor, and in front of them they saw a great mountain, which they thought reached to the sky. This was the appearance of the messengers as they travelled. A single flowing band[32] was there on the mantle[32] of each of them, by way of a mark that they were messengers; so that in whatsoever hostile land they might travel, no harm would be done to them. And when they
W.B. 93 R.B. 87 came across that mountain, they saw great flat lands, and great rivers running through them. And then they said,[3] 'Behold,' said they, 'the land our lord saw.'

They journeyed through[3] to the estuaries of the

[32] 'llawes', 'capan'; 'flowing band', 'mantle, cape'; not as L. G. has them, 'sleeve' and 'cap'.

rivers, until they came to the mouth of a[33] river, which they saw flowing into the sea, and a great fortified city at the mouth of the river, and a great fort in the city, and great towers of many colours on the fort. The largest fleet in the world they saw in the mouth of the river; and a ship which was larger than any of the W.B. 185 others. And then they said,[3] 'Behold once more,' said they, 'the dream which our lord saw.'

And in that great ship they came and they[3] travelled on the sea, and they came to land in[3] the Island of Britain; and they travelled through the land until they came to Eryri. And then they said,[3] 'Behold once more', said they, 'the fertile land which our lord saw.'

Thence[3] they went onwards until they saw the isle of[3] Môn, facing them, and until they saw Arvon also. And then they said,[3] 'Behold', said they, 'the land our lord saw in his dream.'

And they saw the mouth of the Seint,[34] and a fort at the mouth of the river. They saw the gate of the fort open, and into the fort they came. A hall they saw within the fort. 'Behold', said they, 'the hall which our lord[35] saw in his sleep.'

They went into the hall. They saw the two *macwyaid* playing chess on the golden couch. And they saw the grey-haired man at the base of the column in the ivory chair, carving the chess pieces; and they saw the maiden sitting in a chair of red gold. And the messengers bent down on to their knees, and spoke

33 W.B. XVI; W.B. and R.B. both have 'chief'.
34 R.B. 'Sein'. 35 R.B. 'we'.

thus to her,[3] 'Empress of Rome, all hail!' [said they, 'Messengers are we to you from the Emperor of Rome.']

'Oh, *gwyrda*,' said the maiden, 'the appearance of noble men do I see upon you, and the tokens of messengers. What jest are you playing upon me?' 'We play no jest upon you, lady. But the Emperor of Rome has seen you in his sleep. Nor life, nor existence, nor
W.B. 186 being[3] has he on your account. A choice shall you have
R.B. 88 of us, lady, either to come with us to be made Empress in Rome, or the Emperor to come here to take you as his wife.' 'Ah, *gwyrda*,' said the maid, 'I will not doubt what you say; neither will I believe it too much. But if it is I whom the Emperor loves, let him come here to fetch me.'

And by day and by night the messengers travelled back, and as their horses wearied, they abandoned them and[2] bought other new ones.

And when they came as far as Rome, they greeted the Emperor, and sought their reward. And that they got as they themselves specified. And they said to him thus.[3] 'We will be guides to you, lord,' said they, 'on sea and land, as far as the place where the woman you love most is; and we know her name, and her kindred, and her descent.'

And immediately the Emperor set forth in his host,
W.B. 94 and those men as guides to them. As far as the Isle of Britain they came in the fleet[3] across sea and waves; and conquered the island by force[3] from Beli, son of Manogan, and his sons, and they drove them to the sea. And

he came straight on to Arvon, and the Emperor recognized the land when he saw it; and when he saw the fort of Aber Seint,[34] he said, 'My *gwyrda*,' said he,[3] 'see yonder the fort wherein I saw the woman I love most.'[36]

And he came straight to the fort and to the hall; and there he saw Cynan, the son of Eudaf, and Adeon, the son of Eudaf, playing at chess. And he saw Eudaf, the son of Caradawc, sitting in a chair of ivory, carving chess-men. The maid he had seen in his sleep he saw sitting in the chair of red[3] gold. 'Empress of Rome,' said he, 'all hail!' And the Emperor put his hands around her neck, and that night he slept with her.[37] W.B. 187

And the next day, in the morning, the maid asked for her *agweddi*, because he had found her a maid;[38] R.B. 89

[36] W.B. XVI, 'which I saw, and the greatest woman in it'; obvious mistranscript from an older copy.

[37] See note 62 to 'Pwyll'.

[38] Both Professor Anwyl and Professor Ifor Williams would translate 'agweddi', as if it were 'cowyll'. The 'agweddi' was a dowry payable to a wife, whether a maid or not, by a husband after consummation. The Welsh laws give a standard rate according to rank. If the bride were given in marriage by her kin, on the false representation that she was a maid, the husband was entitled to substitute for the standard rate a contemptuous 'agweddi', and divorce her. Where the marriage was without consent of kin, by the free bestowal of the woman, the 'agweddi' was determined according to such terms as the parties arranged between themselves. 'Cowyll' corresponds with the 'morgengifu' of Germanic law. It was a very much smaller sum than the 'agweddi'; and, where payable, was in addition to the latter. It was paid to maiden wives only. The 'cowyll' formed a portion of the woman's special property from the day of marriage; the 'agweddi' represented that part of the marital property to which the

and[38] he asked her to fix her *agweddi*. And she fixed it thus. She demanded the Island of Britain for her father from the Channel[39] as far as the Irish Sea, and the three adjoining isles, to hold them under the Empress of Rome, and three mighty forts to be built for herself in the three places she might choose in the Island of Britain. And then it was chosen to build the most exalted fort for her in Arvon; and the cavalry[40] of Rome was brought there, so that it might be safer for the Emperor to sleep, and to sit, and to travel about. Thereafter the two other forts were made for her, none other than Caerlleon and Caer Fyrddin.

And one day the Emperor went to hunt from[41] Caer Fyrddin, and he went as far as the top of y Freni Fawr,[42] and the Emperor pitched his tent there. And that camping-place is called Cadeir Faxen on that account to this day. And because the fort was made by a myriad of men, it was called Caer Fyrddin.[43]

woman would be entitled, if the marriage were dissolved in less than seven years.

39 ' Vor rud ', the common phrase for the Channel; but here undoubtedly the writer intended the North Sea.

40 We follow here Professor Ifor Williams's note, p. 25, of his *Breuddwyd Maxen*.

41 R.B. and W.B. have ' to ', but W.B. XVI appears correct.

42 As in both W.B. texts; R.B. has ' Vrevi vawr ', which L. G. has translated as equivalent to the present Llanddewi Brefi, a village in Cardigan. ' y Freni uawr ' can be translated as ' the high hills ', but the text shows a specific locality is intended; and it probably represents ' y Frenin Fawr ', a hill in Carmarthen.

43 Caer Fyrddin is Carmarthen. The word for ' myriad ' is ' fyrdd '; hence the fanciful derivation given in the text. A similar fanciful derivation is the popular one which derives the name from

Thereafter, Elen thought to make great roads for herself[3] from one fort to the other, across the Isle of Britain, and the roads were made. And for that reason are they called the Roads of Elen Luyddog,[44] because she sprang from the Isle of Britain, and the men of the Isle of Britain would never have collected those great hosts for any one but for her. W.B. 188

Seven years was the Emperor in this island. This was the custom of the men of Rome in that time; whatsoever Emperor should tarry in other lands, ruling for seven years, must remain in the conquered territory, and he was not allowed to return to Rome. And therefore they appointed a new Emperor; and then he sent a letter of threat to Macsen. There was naught in the letter save, 'If you come, and if ever you come to Rome.' And that letter and its tidings came to Macsen as far as Caerlleon. And thence he himself sent a letter to the man who said he was Emperor in Rome. In that letter also there was naught but, 'If I myself come to Rome, and if I come.' End of Text W.B. XVI R.B. 90

And then Macsen set out with his host towards Rome; and he conquered France and Burgundy and all countries as far as Rome, and he besieged the city of Rome.

A year was the Emperor before the city; the capture of it was no nearer to him than on the first day. And following him came the brothers of Elen of the Hosts

'Myrddin' or 'Merlin'. Its proper derivation is from 'moridunum'=sea-town.

44 Roman roads in Wales are still designated the 'Sarnau Elen'.

from the Isle of Britain, and a tiny force with them, and better fighting men there were in that tiny force than
W.B. 189 twice their number of men of Rome. And the Emperor was informed when the force was seen halting near his own force and pitching its tents. And never did men see a host fairer, nor better equipped, nor with more beautiful banners for its size than was that.

And Elen came to look upon the force, and she identified her brothers' standards. And thereupon Cynan, the son of Eudaf, and Adeon, the son of Eudaf, came to visit the Emperor; and the Emperor was rejoiced to see them, and he put his hands around their necks.

And then they watched the Romans assaulting the city; and Cynan said to his brother, 'We can assault the fort more skilfully than that.' Thereupon they measured up till night the height of the fort, and they sent their carpenters to the wood, and ladders were made for every four of their men. And after they were ready with them, every day at midday the two Emperors took their food, and they ceased fighting on all sides until every one had finished eating. But the men of the Island ate their food in the morn of the day, and they drank until they were intoxicated.[45]

R.B. 91 And when the two Emperors were at their food, the Brytons came against the fort, and planted their ladders against it, and immediately they crossed over

45 'vrwyskeit'. Professor Anwyl tones the meaning down to 'invigorated'. There seems no need to do so; for the old Welsh poems show that it was a common practice for the troops, the night before battle, to indulge in a wild orgy.

the wall within. The new Emperor had no time to put his armour on, ere they fell upon him and slew him, W.B. 190 and many along with him. And three days and three nights were they in overcoming the hosts that were in the fort, and in conquering the castle. And other portions of them were holding the city, lest any of Macsen's force should come to it, until they themselves had finished subduing everybody to their authority.

And Macsen said to Elen of the Hosts, 'Great wonder is it to me, lady,' said he, 'that your brothers should not have obtained authority over this city for me.' 'Lord Emperor,' said she, 'the wisest youths in the world are my brothers. Go you yourself to ask for the city; and if they have it,' said she, 'you shall receive it gladly from them.'

And thereupon the Emperor and Elen came to ask for the city. And they said to the Emperor that it was not the work of any one to take the city, nor to render it to him, save the men of the Isle of Britain. Thereupon the gates of the city of Rome were opened, and the Emperor was seated upon the throne, and all the men of Rome did homage to him.

Then said the Emperor to Cynan and Adeon, 'Ah, *gwyrda*,' said he, 'the whole of my Empire have I obtained; and this host will I give you to conquer such portion of the world as you wish.'

And then they travelled forth and conquered lands, and castles and fortified cities; and they slew all the W.B. 191 men thereof, and the women thereof they left alive.

And thus were they until the young men who had

come with them had become grey-haired men, through the length of time they had been upon that conquest.

R.B. 92 And then Cynan said to Adeon, his brother, ' What do you wish,' said he, ' to tarry in this country, or to go to the land from which you spring?' He decided to go to his own land, and many along with him; and Cynan and another part with him remained there to make it their dwelling-place.

And they decided to cut out the tongues of the women, lest their language should be corrupted. And because of silence from their women, and their language [which is spoken by the men],[2] the men of Brittany are called ' Llydaw'. And thereafter there came, and still come from Brittany, men speaking that language.[46]

And this story is called the Dream of Macsen Wledig, the Emperor of Rome. And here is an end to it.

[46] In this very difficult, and clearly corrupt, passage, we adopt the emendations of Professor Anwyl and Professor Ifor Williams.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO LLUDD AND LLEVELYS

THE R.B. text (pp. 93–9) is the only complete text of Lludd and Llevelys. Part of the story is contained in W.B. cols. 191–2, which begins at the beginning of the story and ends at a point corresponding to R.B. p. 94, line 14.

The story is quite distinct from all the others in the Mabinogion. Its date is uncertain, but it seems to be of a comparatively late period. It seems to represent an entirely indigenous development, free from the influence of Norman-French romance. It is simple; and its chief interest lies in the type of magic happenings that appealed to Welsh medieval audiences, and in the names of people and places.

The 'oppressions' recorded find frequent mention in early Welsh literature, and have occasioned many various attempts at explanation. It is outside our present purposes to discuss these explanations.

LLUDD AND LLEVELYS

This is the Story of the Adventure of Lludd and Llevelys.[1]

R.B. 93
W.B. 191 BELI the Great, the son of Manogan, had three sons, Lludd, and Caswallawn and Nynnyaw, and, according to story, he had a fourth son Llevelys. And after Beli died, the kingdom of the Isle of Britain fell into the hand of Lludd, his eldest son, and it was governed by Lludd prosperously. He restored the walls of London, and surrounded it with innumerable
W.B. 192 towers. And thereafter he commanded the citizens[3] to build houses therein, so that there should not be in (other) kingdoms houses of equal rank to those that might be there. Besides that he was a good fighting man, and generous, and liberal was he in giving food and drink to all who sought them; and though he had many forts and fortified cities, he loved this one more than any. And there he resided the greater part of the year, and for that reason it was called Caer Lludd, and eventually Caer Lundein. And after the foreign race[4] came there, it was called Lundein or Lwndrys.

Lludd loved Llevelys best of his brothers because he was a prudent and wise man. And when he heard that the King of France[2] had died without leaving issue to himself[1] except one daughter, and had left his domi-

[1] Not in W.B. [2] Not in R.B.

[3] The word used is 'kiwtawtwyr', 'men of a civitas'. See *infra* for the word 'civitas' as equal to a 'people'.

[4] The 'foreign race' implies the Norman-French.

nions in her hand, he came to Lludd his brother to R.B. 94
seek counsel and assistance of him; not mostly[5] for his own advantage as to obtain increase in the dignity, honour, and status of his kin, if he could go to France to seek that maid as his wife. And his brother agreed with him at once, and the advice to that effect seemed good to him. And ships were prepared at once, and they were filled with armed horsemen, and he set out towards France.

Immediately after he had disembarked, he sent messengers to declare to the *gwyrda*[6] of France the purpose of the quest he had come to obtain; and with the counsel of the French *gwyrda* and princes, the maid was given to Llevelys,[7] and the crown of the kingdom with her. Thereafter he governed the dominion prudently and wisely and happily[8] so long as he lived.

And after a space of time had elapsed, three oppressions fell upon the Isle of Britain, the like of which no one in these islands had seen before. The first of these was a certain tribe which came and was called the Coranneit,[9] and their knowledge was so great that there was no conversation on the face of the island, however low it was spoken, which they did not know about, if the wind met it. And because of that no harm reached them.

5 R.B. has ' vwynaf '; W.B. ' mwy '.

6 Vide note 33 to ' Pwyll '.

7 R.B. reads ' Lleverys '.

8 End of W.B. text.

9 The word 'Coranneit' is variously spelt in the manuscript; but we have retained a uniform spelling.

The second oppression was a scream[10] that was uttered every May-day eve over every hearth in the Isle of Britain. And it went through the hearts of the people, and they feared it so much that men lost their colour and their strength, and women miscarried. Young men and girls lost their senses, and all animals and trees and the earth and the waters were left barren.

The third oppression was that however great the preparations and provisions might be, which were prepared in the courts of the King, even if they were a year's provisions of food and drink,[11] none of them
R.B. 95 could be kept save that which was consumed the first night.

There was none who knew what was the meaning of the other two oppressions; therefore there was greater hope of obtaining deliverance from the first than from either the second or the third. And thereupon King Lludd was most anxious and harassed, since he knew not what way he might get deliverance from those oppressions.

He called to himself all the *gwyrda* of his dominion, and asked advice of them what they should do to meet those oppressions; and by the united advice of the *gwyrda*, Lludd, the son of Beli, went to Llevelys, his brother, King of France, to seek his advice, for the latter was a man great in counsel and wisdom. Then

[10] 'diaspat' conveys the sense of distress in the scream.

[11] The phrase 'vwyt a diawt' (food and drink) refers to the annual renders made in kind at harvest-time to the brenin or king under the Welsh system of land occupation.

they made ready a fleet, and that secretly and silently, lest that tribe[12] should know the purpose of their quest, or any one else save the King and his advisers. And after they were ready, they went in their fleet, Lludd and those whom he chose;[13] and they began to cleave the seas towards France.

And when news thereof came to Llevelys, since he knew not the reason of his brother's fleet, he came from another direction to oppose him, and a fleet with him enormous in size. When Lludd saw this, he left the whole of his ships out on the waves save one ship, and in that one he came to meet his brother. He, in another ship, came to meet his brother. And when they had come together, they embraced one another, and with brotherly affection each welcomed the other.

And after Lludd had explained to his brother the purpose of the quest, Llevelys said he himself knew the object of his coming to those lands; and, thereupon, they took counsel together how to converse about the quests in such a way that the wind might not come R.B. 96 into contact with their discussions, lest the Coranneit should know what they said.

And thereupon Llevelys caused a long horn to be made of copper and to converse through that horn. And whatever conversation they held together through

[12] 'cenedl'=a tribe, nation, bound together by a real or assumed relationship.

[13] 'aethole'. Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans takes the word to be a proper name. Professor Ifor Williams, whom we follow herein, regards it as a scribal error for 'a etholei' or 'a etholes'='and those whom he chose'.

the horn, neither of them received from the other aught but hateful abuse. And when Llevelys perceived thereby that there was a devil obstructing them and causing dissension through the horn, he caused wine to be poured into the horn to wash it out, and through the virtues of the wine the devil was driven out of the horn.

And when their conversation was unhindered, Llevelys told his brother that he would give him a kind of insect,[14] some of which he should keep alive for breeding purposes, through fear that that kind of oppression should come by chance a second time, and that he should take others of the insects and pound them small in water; and he affirmed that that was an excellent thing wherewith to destroy the tribe of the Coranneit. That is to say, that when he had returned home to his kingdom he should summon together all the people of his own tribe,[12] and the tribe[12] of the Coranneit in one assembly, on the pretext of making peace between them; and when everybody was together, he should take that magic water, and throw it on all indiscriminately. And he affirmed that that water would poison the tribe of the Coranneit, but would not slay nor injure anybody of his own tribe.[12]

'The second oppression', said he, 'which is in your dominion is a dragon, and a strange dragon of another nation[12] is fighting with it, and striving to conquer it.

[14] 'pryuet', insects. Professor Anwyl states that the word 'pryf' was used for any kind of animal; hence he renders 'certain creatures'.

And on that account,' said he, 'your dragon utters a terrible cry of distress.[10] And thus can you obtain knowledge thereof. When you have gone home, have the island measured, lengthways and breadthways, and where you find the exact central point,[15] cause a hole to be dug, and then cause to be put into that hole a tub full R.B. 97 of mead, the best that can be made, with a cloth of brocaded silk over the face of the tub. And then, in your own person, keep watch; and there will you see the dragons fighting in the guise of prodigious animals, and at length they will ascend in the form of dragons into the sky; and, last of all, when they have finished and become weary from their terrible and direful fighting, they will fall, in the guise of two little pigs, upon the cloth; and they will cause the cloth to sink in, and they will drag it down to the bottom of the tub. And they will drink up all the mead, and, after that, they will fall asleep. Then immediately fold the cloth around them; and in the strongest place you can find in your dominion, bury them in a stone chest,[16] and conceal them in the earth. And so long as they shall be in that strong place, no oppression will come to the Isle of Britain from another place.'

'The cause of the third oppression', said he, 'is a strong man of magic who takes away your food and drink and provisions. And he, through his[17] magic and

15 The measurement of the island is referred to in the Ancient Laws of Wales, where the undertaking is credited to Dyfnwal Moelmud.

16 'cistfaen', a common type of prehistoric sepulchre.

17 The text has 'tew yw', a mistranscript for 'trwy'.

enchantment, causes every one to fall asleep. And for that reason it is needful for you, in your own person, to keep watch on your feasts and preparations. And lest his sleep should overcome you, let there be a tub of cold water near your hand. And when sleep presses hard upon you, get into the tub.'

Then Lludd returned to his own land; and immediately he summoned to himself every single person of his own tribe and of the Coranneit. And as Llevelys had taught him, he pounded the insects in water, and threw it indiscriminately upon everybody. And immediately, the whole people[3] of the Coranneit was thus destroyed, without any injury to any of the Brytons.

And at the end of a space thereafter, Lludd caused the island to be measured, lengthways and breadthways,
R.B. 98 and in Oxford did he find the central point. And there he caused the earth to be dug up; and in that hole he put a tub full of the best mead that could be made, and a cloth of brocaded silk over the face of it, and he himself kept watch that night. And while he was thus, he saw the dragons fighting; and when they were wearied and tired, they fell on top of the cloth, and pulled it down to the bottom of the tub. And when they had finished drinking up the mead, they fell asleep. And in their sleep Lludd folded the cloth around them, and in the safest place he found in Eryri, he hid them in a stone chest.[16] The form by which that place was called afterwards is Dinas Emreis. Before that Dinas Ffaraon Dande. He was the third weak youth who broke his

heart through sorrow.[18] Thus ceased the tempestuous scream[10] that there was in the dominion.

And when that was finished, King Lludd caused preparations to be made for an exceeding great feast. And when it was ready, he had a tub, full of cold water, placed by his hand. And he himself, in his own person, kept watch over it. And as he was so engaged, clad in armour, behold, when it was about the third watch of the night, he heard many magnificent entertainments and varieties of songs, and slumber compelling him to sleep. Thereupon lest he should be hindered in his preparation and bé conquered by slumber, he went frequently into the water. And at last, behold, a man of huge stature, wearing heavy, strong armour, came in with a basket. And as he was accustomed to do, he put the whole preparations and provisions of food and drink into the basket, and started off with them. And nothing was more marvellous to Lludd than that the basket would hold so much as that.

And thereupon King Lludd set out after him, and he R.B. 99
said to him thus: 'Stop, stop,' said he, 'though you have committed many insults and many acts of damage before this, you shall do so no further, unless your military prowess should prove superior and braver than mine.' And immediately he put the basket on the ground, and awaited him. And a terrible fight was

[18] The Triad refers to the same triad as that mentioned in note 67 to 'Branwen'. 'crynweissat' (weak youth) is regarded by Professor Ifor Williams, probably correctly, as a mistranscript for 'cynweissat'=governor, high official.

there between them, until there was a sparkling fire running from their arms. And at last Lludd gripped hold of him, and Fate saw that victory should fall to Lludd by hurling the oppressor from him to the earth. And when he had conquered him, through strength and might, he sought quarter. 'How', said the King, 'can I give you quarter after so many acts of damage and insults you have done to me?' 'All your losses that I have ever occasioned you', said he, 'will I make good to the extent I have taken. And I will never do the like to you again, and your faithful man will I be henceforth.' And the King took this of him.

And so Lludd freed the island of Britain of the three oppressions. And thenceforth, to the end of his life, Lludd, the son of Beli, governed in the Isle of Britain in prosperous peace.

And this story is called the Adventure of Lludd and Llevelys. And so it ends.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO KULHWCH AND OLWEN

THE Red Book text (pp. 100–43) is the only complete text of Kulhwch and Olwen. The White Book (cols. 452–88) corresponds with the R.B. text, pp. 100–28, line 11, and there ends abruptly, owing to the destruction, at some time or another, of the remaining pages. There are no fragmentary remains.

The correspondence between the two texts is very close; but we have exactly the same differences in the language used as was observed in the case of the Four Branches, i.e. the one is not a literal copy of the other. The story and the incidents are, in the main, identical; but the actual orthography and form of words used differ. Whether the R.B. copyist used the W.B. text, or both used a common original, it is perhaps impossible to say. Both scribes use the orthography and language, to some extent at least, of the days in which they were writing. There are a few incidents in the one text which do not occur in the other, e.g. the task set of obtaining the birds of Rhiannon, referred to in W.B., does not appear in the R.B., but these differences are small. There are also occasional other variations in the texts, sufficiently indicated in the notes. The general conclusion, we think, is that the one was not actually copied from the other, and that some earlier common original was used is probable. The language of both texts is much more archaic than that of any of the other

stories; and this has led to considerable discussion and difference of opinion among philologists as to the date of the redaction of the original. Without here entering into the details of this vexed question, it seems safe to say that the original redaction of Kulhwch and Olwen preceded that of the Four Branches by some centuries; and other circumstances in the story lead to the impression that it was first written down in the tenth century.

Kulhwch and Olwen is the earliest written record of the Arthurian cycle. It differs materially from what that cycle eventually developed into; but we seem to have here part of the rough material out of which the great cycle eventually grew. It is the first of the five stories in the Mabinogion dealing with Arthur, and, unlike three of them, it displays no foreign influence whatever. It is purely Welsh. The language employed is exceptionally terse and elliptical, and consequently very difficult to render literally in such a way as to preserve the vigour of the original.

The story cannot be said to attain, except in some passages of great beauty, to the high degree of literary polish that the Four Branches do; and, in fact, it presents the appearance, not so much of a finished literary composition, as of a kind of catalogue of incidents—some of which are developed into literary stories, some of which are not developed at all—used by a reciter of the cycle as an aid to his memory.

Some readers find it difficult to follow the structure of the story. It is, in fact, a very simple one.

It consists of four parts:

(i) the account of Kulhwch's birth, and the destiny placed upon him by his stepmother, namely, that he shall have no wife until he discovers Olwen;

(ii) the visit to Arthur's court to seek the King's help to find Olwen, and the subsequent meeting with Olwen.

This portion contains two striking passages:

(*a*) the brief recital by the porter of his own past exploits;

(*b*) a long list of warriors and ladies at Arthur's court, invoked by Kulhwch to aid him in his search.

In this list there are a few accounts given of some of the persons invoked.

Many of the places mentioned by the porter are unknown; but there is, we think, no doubt that they represent incidents, now forgotten, well known to the original reciters, and that the list of places given served only as a tag, from which the reciter, if he wished, might develop the story connected with each one.

In the list of persons invoked we have an extraordinary collection. Besides recognizable heroes like Cai and Bedwyr, and heroines like Gwenhwyfar and Essyllt, historic or legendary figures like Dyfnwal Moel, Cynwal Sant, and Taliesin, we have personified qualities like Clust mab Clustfeinad (Ear, the son of Hearing), and many quite unrecognizable figures. It is partly a fanciful list, partly a catalogue of incidents

centring round names; the framework, as it were, of a series of tales known to the reciter.

(iii) The meeting with Yspaddaden and the tasks (the origin of the quests of Arthur's knights) set by him ere Kulhwch could win Olwen.

There are 38 of these tasks enumerated in the Red Book, and 39 in the White Book, given in the same order.

The following are the tasks:

(1) an adjoining hill to be rooted up, the grubbings burnt, the land ploughed, sown, and garnered in a day, to make wheat-bread and liquor for the wedding feast;
(2) to obtain Amaethon, the son of Don, to do the tilling;
(3) to obtain Gofannon, the son of Don, to come to the headland to prepare the plough-irons;
(4) to obtain the oxen of Gwlwlydd to plough the wild land;
(5) to yoke together the oxen Melyn Gwanwyn and Brych;
(6) to yoke together the two oxen Nynyaw and Peibaw, thus forming a six-ox plough-team;
(7) to sow on the red-tilled land (which was sown with flax, when Yspaddaden first met Olwen's mother, and on which the crop had not yet sprung up) flax to form a white whimple for Olwen on her wedding day;
(8) to get bragod-honey for the wedding;
(9) to get the cup of Llwyr to hold the bragod;

(10) to get the ' mwys ' of Gwyddno Garanhir to hold food in for the feast;

(11) to get the horn of Gwlgawd Gododin to hold liquor in;

(12) to get the harp of Teirtu to play on on the wedding night;

(13) to get the cauldron of Diwrnach to boil the meat in;

(14) to get the tusk of Yskithyrwyn for Yspaddaden to shave with;

(15) to get Odgar ap Aedd to pluck it out of Yskithyrwyn's head;

(16) to get Cado to keep the tusk;

(17) to get the blood of Orddu, wherewith to soften Yspaddaden's beard;

(18) to get the bottles of Gwyddolwyd Gorr to keep the blood warm in;

(19) to get the bottles of Rhinnin to hold milk in for the guests;

(20) to get the comb and scissors from between the ears of the Twrch Trwyth to trim Yspaddaden's hair with;

(21) to get Drudwyn the whelp to hunt the Twrch with;

(22) to get the leash of Cwrs Cant Ewin to hold Drudwyn with;

(23) to get the collar of Canhastyr Canllaw to hold Drudwyn with;

(24) to get the chain of Cilydd Canhastyr for the same purpose;

(25) to get Mabon ap Modryn to hunt with Drudwyn;

(26) to get Gweddw's horse to carry Mabon;
(27) to get Eidoel ap Aer to give trace of Mabon;
(28) to get Garselit to help in the hunt;
(29) to get a leash made of hair from the beard of Dillus wherewith to hold two cubs (the reference being to the cubs of the bitch Rhymi);
(30) to get Cynedyr Wyllt to hold the cubs;
(31) to get Gwynn ap Nudd to help hunt the Twrch,
(32) to get the horse Du for Gwynn to ride on;
(33) to get Gilhennin to join in the hunt;
(34) to get the son of Alun Dyfed to unleash the dogs for the hunt;
(35) to get Aned and Aethlem for the hunt;
(36) to get Arthur and his companions for the same purpose;
(37) to get Bwlch, Cyfwlch, and Sefwlch for the same purpose;
(38) to get the sword of Gwrnach the Giant.

The White Book inserts after (12) the obtaining of the birds of Rhiannon to sing at the feast.

The scheme is a very clear one, and need not be enlarged upon further; but the tasks, as the originals of the quests, are of intense interest as portraying the material out of which the cycle grew.

(iv) The accomplishment of some of these tasks, ending with the marriage of Kulhwch and Olwen.

The accomplishment of these tasks is variously treated. Some of the quests are described at considerable length, e.g. the rescue of Mabon and the hunting

of the Twrch Trwyth; others are very briefly described; others dismissed almost laconically. The accomplishment of some of the tasks is not narrated, though there is a general statement that all were achieved.

In addition, the capture of the cubs of the bitch Rhymi is described (a task hinted at, but not definitely set by Yspaddaden); the securing of the flax-seed is described (also a task hinted at, but not definitely set); the obtaining of Gwrgi Severi is substituted for the task of obtaining Garselit; and finally the story of the reconciliation of Gwynn and Gwythyr occupies the place reserved originally for the recruitment of Gwynn ap Nudd.

Tasks 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23, 24, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, and the procuring of the birds of Rhiannoṅ are not further mentioned.

These variations between the tasks set and those accomplished show, we think, very clearly the catalogue nature of the list of tasks, and the licence accorded the reciter to tell at length, as he went on, whatever episode connected with particular names he might wish to tell.

At any rate, it seems clear that the story, as we have it, is, as already noted, a skeleton framework only, filled in here and there, but, more often than not, left, in writing, a skeleton. What stories, known to the reciter, have been lost it is impossible to say; but probably there were many, perfectly well known at the time, which were used subsequently by Geoffrey of Monmouth and the numerous bards and reciters who, between them,

built up the great cycle of Arthur. On some of these we get occasional light thrown by the Triads and the poems collected in Skene's Four Ancient Books; but we are left, none the less, with a sense of irreparable loss that so many ancient forms of tales, which afterwards acquired popular currency in Romance, were not recorded by those who knew them.

It is impossible to speculate here as to the meaning, if any, of the tasks, or even as to the time when the stories originated. It may be noted, however, that the hunt of the Twrch Trwyth, which occupies so large a space in Kulhwch and Olwen, was known to Nennius in the eighth century; and it is referred to by him as if it were, even then, a story invested with the hoariest antiquity.

Apart from its framework, the tale throws much light on the social life of ancient Wales; and, moreover, it carries us back frequently to the very dawn of history, in fact far back into pre-history. It must, for all time, be the starting-point for any one who wishes to study and understand the Arthurian cycle.

The geography of Kulhwch and Olwen presents some interesting matter. It is characteristic of the Welsh tales, when untouched by foreign influence, that, as a rule, they are definite in their localization. In Kulhwch and Olwen the terrestrial geography is mainly that of South Wales, the celestial that of Annwn and its borderland. The later stories, when influenced by French romance, become extremely vague as to geography. The scene is set neither in heaven nor in

earth; and hence an air of extreme unreality in Romance, for the adventures therein might have happened anywhere or nowhere. One is tempted, at first, to think that the abode of Yspaddaden is vaguely touched upon; but, as we read on, even if we cannot fix the exact locality, the recital of the tasks set point unmistakably to the locale of his abode as being in the wilds of Plynlymmon.

KULHWCH AND OLWEN

R.B. 100
W.B. 452

KILYDD, the son of Celyddon Wledig, wished for a wife to eat at the same table with him. This is the wife he wished for: Goleuddydd, the daughter of Anlawdd Wledig. After the wedding-feast with her, the country started to pray that they might have an heir; and they had a son[3] through the prayers of the country. And from the time she became pregnant she roamed about madly, without trusting any dwelling. When the appointed time came to her, her reason returned to her. This is where it came: in a place[4] where the[5] swineherd was keeping a herd of pigs, and through fear of the pigs, the Queen was delivered. And the swineherd took the boy until he came to the court; and the boy was baptized; and he was called Kulhwch, because he was born in a pig-sty.[6] Nevertheless, the boy was of good lineage; he was first cousin to Arthur, and the boy was put out to nurse.

And after that the boy's mother, Goleuddydd, the daughter of Anlawdd Wledig, fell ill. She called her partner to her, and then[1] she said to him, 'I shall die of this illness, and you will desire another wife. Nowadays wives are the dispensers of gifts;[7] but it is ill of

[1] Not in W.B. [2] Not in R.B.

[3] W.B. 'he had a son by her'.

[4] W.B. 'mynyd oed'; R.B. incorrectly transcribes, 'mynyd yd oed'.

[5] W.B. 'a'.

[6] A fanciful medieval philological derivation; as if Kulhwch came from 'cil', a retreat, 'hwch' a sow.

[7] In old Welsh custom, the woman of the house had very clear

you to despoil your son; hence I beg you not to desire a wife, until you see a briar, with two heads, upon my grave.' And he promised her that. She called her father-confessor[8] to her; and commanded him to R.B. 101 clean the grave every year, so that nothing might grow W.B. 453 on it. The Queen died; so the King sent a servant every morning to see if[9] anything had grown on the grave. At the end of seven years, the father-confessor neglected that which he had promised the Queen.

One day the King was hunting, and he[10] approached the graveyard. He wished to see the grave, so that[11] he might take a wife. And he saw the briar; and when he saw it, the King sought counsel[12] in what place[13] he might get a wife. One of his counsellors said, 'I know a wife who will suit you well. She is the wife of King Doged.' They decided to seek her, and slay the King, and they brought his wife home[2] with them, and one daughter she had with her; and they took possession of the King's land.

One day the good lady went out for a walk. She came to the house of an old witch, who was in the town,

and definite rights as to hospitality to strangers, which she could exercise without reference to her husband. The phrase implies that women, under the pretext of hospitality, were inclined to be wasteful, and, consequently, that a new wife would simply waste Kulhwch's patrimony. 'Recdouyd'; lit. 'one having dominion over gifts'.

[8] 'athro', the family preceptor. Anwyl, 'father-confessor'. In M.W. 'teacher'.

[9] W.B. 'malkaun', whether.

[10] R.B. 'the King'.

[11] Lit. 'through which'.

[12] Lit. 'went into counsel'.

[13] W.B. uses the O.W. 'kwt'.

without a tooth in her head. And the Queen said, 'Oh witch, for God's sake, tell me the thing I ask you. Where[13] are the children of the man who has ravished[14] me by violence?' The witch said, 'He has no children.' The Queen said, 'Woe is me that I have come to a childless man.' And then[1] the witch said, 'You have no need of that. There is a prediction that he shall have issue of you,[15] though he may not have it of
W.B. 454 another. Be not sad, either, he has one son.'

The good lady went home joyfully, and she said to her partner, 'What reason have you for concealing your children from me?' The King said, 'I will not conceal him now.'[1] He sent messengers for his son; and they came with him[16] to the court. His step-mother said to him, 'It is well for you to marry, my son;[2] and I have a daughter worthy of any *gwrda* in the world.'
R.B. 102 The boy said, 'I am not yet of age to marry.'[17] And then[1] she said, 'I put this destiny upon you: your side shall never touch a wife until you get Olwen, the daughter of Yspaddaden, the Chief Giant.' The boy blushed, and love of the maiden entered into every limb of his, although he had never seen her. And then[1] his father said to him, 'Ah, son, why do you colour? What evil is there on you?' 'My step-mother has fated me that I

[14] R.B. 'llathrudawd', ravished; W.B. 'rydyallas', made powerless.

[15] W.B. requires a full stop after 'issue', and continues 'Of you shall he have it'.

[16] W.B. 'he himself came'.

[17] The marriageable age of a boy, according to old Welsh custom, was fourteen.

shall never have a wife until I obtain Olwen, daughter of Yspaddaden, the Chief Giant.' 'It is easy for you to get her,[2] my son,' said his father to him, 'Arthur is your first cousin. Go[18] to Arthur to trim your hair,[19] and seek this of him as a gift to you.'

The boy went on a steed, with light-grey head, four winters old, its hind-legs firm of joint, and shell-hoofed, and a bridle of linked gold on its head, and a saddle[20] of costly gold upon it. And in his hand two spears of W.B. 455 whetted silver. A lordly lance in his hand, as thick as the arm of a very heavy man up to the edge.[21] It would draw blood from the wind; it was swifter than the fall of the first dewdrop from the stalk to the ground, when the dew is heaviest in the month of June. A gold-hilted sword at his hip; and the blade-sheath thereof gold, and a gold-chased cross on it, with the hue of the lightning of heaven in it, and therein an ivory relic jewel.[22] And two greyhounds, white-breasted, brindled, in front of him, and strong collars of red gold[23] on the neck of both of them, from the shoulder-

[18] W.B. inserts 'yourself'.

[19] 'the trimming of the hair' implied subordination to, and, therefore, protection by the trimmer. The secular tonsure.

[20] W.B. 'ystrodur', pack-saddle; R.B. 'cyfrwy', saddle.

[21] A very difficult passage; probably a paraphrase of verse. Anwyl gives the meaning 'lordly' to 'penntirec'; Loth 'projecting'. Anwyl would transfer 'hyt awch', 'to the edge', to the next sentence, reading, 'along its edge it would . . .' There are slight differences in the two texts.

[22] R.B. 'llugorn eliffeint'. A 'llugorn' was a jewelled relic inset into a sword-hilt; W.B. 'lloring elifeint'. 'Lloring' and 'elifeint' both=ivory.

[23] R.B. 'gems'.

joint to the ear. And the one that might be on the left side would be on the right side, and the one that might be on the right side would be on the left side, like two sea-swallows playing around him. The four sods of turf, which the four hoofs of his steed cut, like four swallows in the air above his head, now above, now below. A four-cornered purple garment on him, and
R.B. 103 at each corner of it a golden[24] apple; each apple was worth a hundred cows.[25] The worth of three hundred cows was there of precious gold upon his foot-wear and his stirrups, blood-red from the top of his knee to the tip of his toe. A blade of grass bent not beneath him, by reason of the lightness of the touch of the steed which was under him travelling to the gate of Arthur's court.
W.B. 456 The boy said, 'Is there a keeper of the gate?' 'There is, and you, whose tongue is not silent, why do you accost me? I am the keeper of Arthur's gate on every calends of January; my deputies, however, during the year except then, namely, Huandaw, and Gogigwc, and Llaeskenym,[26] and Pennpingyon, who travels on his head to save his feet, not upon the sky nor upon the earth, but[1] like a stone rolling on the floor of the court.' 'Open the gate.' 'I will not open it.' 'What is the reason that you will not open it?' 'The knife is in the food, and the drink in the horn, and a throng[27] in Arthur's court. Save the son of a King of

[24] W.B. 'red-gold'.

[25] The system of valuation in cattle is very old. In the tenth century the standardized value of a cow was fixed at 5*s*.

[26] W.B. 'Llaeskemyn'.

[27] Lit. 'a treading'.

a worthy[28] land or a musician, who brings his art, none may enter. Food for your dogs, and wheat for[2] your horses, and chops, hot-peppered, for yourself, and sparkling wine and pleasant songs for you. Food for thirty[29] men will come to you in the hospice;[30] there those from afar eat, and the sons of other lands, those who direct not their course[31] to Arthur's court. It will not be worse for us[32] there than in the court along with Arthur.[33] A woman to sleep with you,[2] and pleasing songs before you.[34] And to-morrow at prime, when the gate is opened for the host that came here to-day, the gate will be opened for you first, and you may sit where-ever you choose in Arthur's court, from the top to the bottom.'

The boy said, 'I will do none of that. If you open W.B. 457
the gate, it is well. If you open it not, I will bring dishonour upon your lord, and evil repute to you. And I will give three cries of distress at the door of this gate, so that it will be not less audible[35] on the top of Pen- R.B. 104
gwaedd in Cornwall than in the depths of Dinsol in the North, and in Esgair Oerfel in Ireland. And whatever

[28] 'teithiawc'. Really untranslatable into English. Equals one having 'teithi', i.e., all the qualities which make for perfection, possession of which gave the person possessing them the highest value.

[29] W.B. 'fifty'.

[30] 'yspytty', hospice, guest-room.

[31] W.B. 'ergyttyo kerth', 'are not prominent in'; R.B. 'ergyttyo kylch'.

[32] Loth changes 'inn' into 'itt', 'for you'.

[33] W.B. has 'for Arthur in the court'.

[34] W.B. 'your two knees'.

[35] W.B. 'anghleuach', audible; R.B. 'agheuach', deadly.

pregnant women there are in this court shall miscarry; and the hearts of those who are not pregnant shall be turned into grievous plight,[36] so that never shall they be pregnant from this day forward.'

Said Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr, 'Whatever cry of distress you utter against the laws of Arthur's court,[37] you will not be let[38] in, until I have gone in first to speak to Arthur.'

And thereupon Glewlwyd came into the hall, and Arthur said to him, 'Have you tidings at the gate?' 'Two-thirds of my life has passed, and two-thirds of yours. Formerly I have been in Caer Se and Asse,[39] in Sach and Salach, in Lotor and Ffotor. Formerly I have been in Great India and Little India; formerly I was in the battle of Deu Ynyr, when the twelve hostages were brought from Llychlyn.[40] Formerly have I been in Europe, and I have been in Africa, and in the islands of Corsica, and in Caer Brythwch and Brythach and Nerthach. I was formerly present when you slew the body-guard of Cleis, the son of Merin; when you slew
W.B. 458 Mil Du, the son of Ducum. I was present formerly when you conquered Greece towards the East. I was

[36] W.B. 'grievously'.

[37] 'Cyfreithiau y Llys'. The 'Cyfreithiau y Llys' in old Welsh law formed a code, regulating the duties, functions, precedence, &c., of the court officers.

[38] R.B. 'ellyngir'; W.B. 'atter'.

[39] Of many of these places referred to by Glewlwyd nothing is known. They enshrine the only record of long-forgotten stories. The speech is of considerable value, because it is the earliest Welsh record of the 'conquests of Arthur', which were so enlarged upon by later writers.

[40] Llychlyn = Scandinavia.

aforetimes in Caer Oeth and Anoeth, and in Caer Nevenhyr. Nine protecting sovereigns, fair men, saw we there; never have I seen a man of equal rank to[41] this one, who is at the door of the gate at this moment.'[42]

And Arthur said, 'If it was at a walk that[43] you came in, go out running. And let those that look upon the light, and open and shut the eye, be in extreme bondage[44] to him, and serve him, some with golden drinking-horns, and others with hot-peppered chops, till food and drink shall be ready for him. A grievous thing it is to keep in the wind and rain a man such as R.B. 105
you say he is.' Said Cai, 'By the hand of my companion, if you would follow my counsel, you would not break the laws of the Court[37] for him.' 'No, indeed, blessed Cai. We are good men to the extent that we are resorted to; so that the greater the hospitality[45] we show, the greater will be our good-manship, and our renown, and our glory.'

And Glewlwyd came to the gate, and opened the gate for him. And though[46] every one dismounted at the mounting-block by the gate, he did not so dis-

41 W.B. 'like unto'.

42 W.B. has 'y porth awr awr honn'. The first 'awr' is superfluous. It may be a mistake for 'y porthawr awr honn'. If so, W.B. would read 'at the door of the gate-keeper at this moment'.

43 W.B. reads 'if you were walking when . . .'

44 'anghengaeth', bondage. Anwyl renders the bondage as blindness.

45 'kyuarws', lit. 'gift'.

46 W.B. 'when it was opened'.

mount,[47] but came inside upon his steed. And Kulhwch said, 'Hail, chief ruler[48] of this island! Be it no
W.B. 459 worse unto your lowest than to your highest. Equally may this greeting be to your nobles and your retinue and your battle-chiefs. May none be less filled with the greeting than you are.[49] May your state, and your renown,[50] and your glory be fulfilled in this island. [May the truth of God be yours, chief.']²

'Welcome be you,' said Arthur.[1] 'Sit down between two of my warriors, and the entertainment of song shall you have[1] before you, and the privilege[51] of an Edling,[52] the heir to a kingdom, upon you, however long you may be here. And when I distribute my gifts to guests and those who come from afar, they shall be in[53] your hand, when I begin in this court.'

The boy said, 'I came not here to sponge for food and drink; but should I obtain my gift,[45] I will repay and give praise for it. If I obtain it not, your dishonour[54] will I carry as far as your fame was in the farthest four corners of the earth.'

Then said Arthur, 'Since you will not remain here, sir, you shall have the gift which your head and tongue

47 W.B. 'do so'. 48 'penteyrned'.

49 This passage is incapable of absolute literal translation.

50 W.B. 'faith'.

51 'breint', 'status', or 'privilege' assigned to a particular status.

52 'Edling' = Eng. Atheling; in Welsh law the heir appointed. Anwyl, 'the representative'. R.B. reads 'a king'.

53 W.B. 'let it be from'.

54 R.B. 'agclot', 'shame', 'dishonour'; W.B. 'wyneb', lit. 'face', but constantly used in O.W. for 'shame'.

may notify, as far as the wind dries, as far as the rain wets, as far as the sun revolves,[55] as far as the sea may embrace, as far as the earth may stretch; save my ship and my mantle, and Caledfwlch, my sword, and Rongomyant, my spear, and Wynebgwrthucher, my shield,[56] and Carnwenhan, my knife, and Gwenhwyfar, R.B. 106
my wife. God's truth upon that, you shall have it cheerfully. State what you will state.' 'I state:[2] I W.B. 460
wish you to trim my hair.'[19] 'That shall you have.' Arthur took a golden comb and scissors, with loops of silver to it, and he combed his hair. And Arthur[57] asked him who he was, and Arthur said,[2] 'My heart grows tender towards you. I know that you are descended from my blood. Tell me[1] who you are.' 'I will tell,' said the boy.[1] 'Kulhwch, the son of Kilydd, the son of Celyddon Wledig, by Goleuddydd, the daughter of Anlawdd Wledig, my mother.' 'That is true,' said Arthur, 'you are my first cousin. State what you will state, and you shall have it, whatever your head and tongue may state. By the truth of my God thereon, and the truth of your kingdom, you shall have it cheerfully.' 'I will state it to you. Obtain for me Olwen, the daughter of Yspaddaden, the Chief Giant. And I invoke her of your warriors.'

And he invoked the gift thereon from Cai and Bedwyr,[58] and Greidawl Galldofydd, and Gwythyr, the son of Greidawl, and Greit, the son of Eri, and

55 R.B. 'treigyl', revolves; W.B. 'yretil', possibly equals 'yr etil' (from ataliaf; I stop), i.e. 'as far as the sun extends its course'.

56 R.B. 'taryan'; W.B. 'yscwyt'. 57 W.B. 'he'.

58 See introductory Note regarding this list.

Cynddelic Cyfarwydd, and Tathal Twyll Goleu, and Maelwys, the son of Baedan, and Cnychwr, the son of Nes, and Cubert, the son of Daere, and Percos, the son of Poch, and Lluber Beuthach, and Corvil Berfach, and Gwynn, the son of Esni, and Gwynn, the son of Nwyfre, and Gwynn, the son of Nudd, and Edern, the son of Nudd, and Gadwy, the son of Geraint, and Fflewdur Fflam Gwledig, and Ruawn Pebyr, the son of Dorath, and Bradwen, the son of Moren Mynawg, and Moren Mynawg himself, and Dalldaf, the son of Kimin Cof, and the son of Alun Dyfed, and the son of Saidi, and the son of Gwryon, and Uchtryd Ardywad Kad, and Cynwas Curfagyl, and Gwrhyr Gwarthecfras,
W.B. 461 and Isperyr Ewingath, and Gallcoed Gofynynad, and Duach, and Grathach,[59] and Nerthach, sons of Gwawrdur Cyrfach (from the borderland of hell did these[60] men spring), and Cilydd Canhastyr, and Canhastyr
R.B. 107 Canllaw, and Cors Cant Ewin, and Esgair Culhwch Gofyncawn, and Drustrwn Hayarn, and Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr, and Lloch Llawwynnyawg. And Annwas Adeinawg, and Sinnoch, the son of Seithfed [and Gwatu, the son of Seithfed, and Naw, the son of Seithfed],[2] and Gwennwynwyn, the son of Naw [the son of Seithfed],[2] and Bedyw, the son of Seithfed, and Gobrwy, the son of Echel Forddwyt Twll. And Echel Forddwyt Twll himself, and Mael, the son of Roycol, and Dadweir Dallpenn. And Garwyli, the son of Gwythawg Gwyr, and Gwythawg Gwyr himself, and Gormant, the son of Ricca, and Menw, the

59 W.B. ' Brathach '. 60 W.B. ' the '.

son of Teirgwaedd, and Digon, the son of Alar, and Selyf, the son of Sinoit, and Gusg, the son of Achen,[61] and Nerth, the son of Cadarn,[62] and Drudwas, the son of Tryffin, and Twrch, the son of Perif, and Twrch, the son of Annwas, and Iona, the French King, and Sel, the son of Selgi, and Teregud, the son of Iaen, and Sulyen, the son of Iaen, and Bradwen, the son of Iaen, and Moren, the son of Iaen, and Siawn, the son of Iaen, and Cradawg, the son of Iaen (men of Caer Dathyl were they, of Arthur's kin from his father's side), Dirmyg, the son of Caw, and Iustic, the son of Caw, and Etmic, the son of Caw, and Angawdd, the son of Caw, and Ofan, the son of Caw, and Celin, the son of Caw, and Connyn, the son of Caw, W.B. 462 and Mabsant, the son of Caw, and Gwyngad, the son of Caw, and Llwybyr, the son of Caw, and Coch, the son of Caw, and Meilic, the son of Caw, and Cynwas,[63] the son of Caw, and Ardwyad, the son of Caw, and Ergyryad, the son of Caw, and Neb, the son of Caw, and Gildas,[64] the son of Caw, and Calcas, the son of Caw, and Hueil, the son of Caw (never was he invoked in the hand of a lord), and Samson Finsych, and Taliesin, the Chief of Bards, and Manawydan, the son of Llyr, and Llary, the son of Casnar Wledig, and Ysperin, the son of Fflergant, the King of Llydaw, and Saranhon, the son of Glythwyr,[65] and Llawr, the son of Erw, and

[61] R.B. 'Atheu'.
[62] R.B. 'Kedarn'.
[63] W.B. 'Cynwal'.
[64] R.B. 'Gilda'.
[65] Probably an error for 'Garanhon, the son of Golithmer, or Glythmyr'.

Annyannawg, the son of Menw, the son of Teirgwaedd, and Gwynn, the son of Nwyfre, and Fflam, the son of Nwyfre, and Geraint, the son of Erbin [and Erinit, the son of Erbin],[1] and Dyfel, the son of Erbin, and Gwynn, the son of Ermid, and Cyndrwyn, the son of Ermid, and Hyfeidd Unllen, and Eidon Fawrfrydig, and Reidwn Arwy, and Gormant, the son of Ricca
R.B. 108 (Arthur's brother from his mother's side, the chief elder of Cornwall his father), and Llawnrodded Farfawc, and Nodawl Faryf Twrch, and Berth, the son of Cado, and Rheiddwn, the son of Beli, and Iscofan Hael, and Iscawin, the son of Panon, and Morfran, the son of Tegid (no man placed his weapon in him at the Battle of[1] Camlan, because of his hideousness. Everybody thought he was a devil aiding. Hair was on him like the hair of a stag). And Sande of the Angel Face (no one
W.B. 463 speared him in the Battle of[1] Camlan, because of his beauty. Every one thought he was an angel aiding), and Cynnwyl Sant (the third man who escaped from the Battle of[1] Camlan. He was the last to separate from Arthur on Hengroen, his horse), and Uchtryd, the son of Erim, and Eus, the son of Erim, and Henwas Adeinawg, the son of Erim, and Henbedestyr, the son of Erim, and Sgilti Yscawntroed, the son of Erim (three peculiarities had these men: Henbedestyr never met a man of equal speed, neither on horse nor on foot; Henwas Adeinawg, never could a four-footed beast keep up with him, for the length of one acre, still less farther than that; Sgilti Yscawndroed, when the desire was on him to set out on his lord's errand, he never

sought a road to know whither he was to go, but should it be through a wood, along the tops of the trees he walked [and should it be a mountain, he walked on top of the reeds],[2] and throughout his life no blade of grass bent beneath his foot,[66] let alone did one break, because of his lightness of foot); Teithi Hên, the son of Gwynhan (whose dominions the sea swallowed, and who escaped himself with difficulty. And he came to Arthur, and his knife had a peculiarity: from the time he came here, its handle never remained on it. And on W.B. 464
that account, sickness came upon him, and he pined away as long as he lived, and therefrom he died). And Carnedyr, the son of Gofynyon Hen, and [Gwennwynwyn, the son of Naf][1] Gyssevin, Arthur's warrior, R.B. 109
and Llysgadrud[67] Emys, and Gwrbothu Hên (uncles of Arthur were they, his mother's brothers), Culfanawyd, the son of Goryon, and Llennleawg[68] the Irishman from the land of Gamon, and Dyfnwal Moel, and Dunard, the King of the North, Teirnon Twryf[69] Bliant were there,[2] and Tecfan Gloff, and Tegyr Talgellawg, Gwrdifal, the son of Ebrei, and Morgant Hael, Gwystyl, the son of Nwython,[2] and Rhun, the son of Nwython, and Llwydeu, the son of Nwython, and Gwydre, the son of Llwydeu by Gwennabwy, the daughter of Caw, his mother (Hueil, his uncle, stabbed him, and for that reason there was hatred between Hueil and Arthur because of the wound),

[66] W.B. ' feet '.
[67] W.B. ' Llygatrud ', ' the red-eyed '.
[68] R.B. ' Llenfleawc '.
[69] W.B. ' Twr '.

Drem, the son of Dremidyd (who saw from Gelliwic in Cornwall as far as Penn Blathaon in Prydein, when a fly rose up in the morning with the sun). And Eidoel,[70] the son of Ner, and Glwyddyn the carpenter (who made Ehangwen, Arthur's hall), Cynyr Ceinfarfawg (Cai was said to be his son; he said to his wife, 'If I have a part in your son, maid, cold will his heart always be, and there will be no warmth in his hands.
W.B. 465 Another peculiarity will there be[2] upon him. If he be my son, obstinate will he be. Another peculiarity will be on him: when he carries a burden, be it great or small, no one will see him, neither face to face nor from behind. Another peculiarity also will be upon him: no one will dare[71] water and fire as well as he. Another peculiarity will be on him: there will never be a servant or an officer like him); Henwas and Henwyneb and Hên Cydymdeith to Arthur,[72] Gwallgoyg, another (whatever *tref*[73] he might come to, were there three hundred houses[74] in it, if he needed anything, he never left sleep on the eye of man, so long as he was there), Berwyn, the son of Gerenhir, and Paris,[75] the French King (and from him the city of Paris is named), and[1] Osla of the Long Knife (who carried a short broad blade.

[70] R.B. 'Eidyol'.

[71] Lit. 'cease with'. Anwyl 'dispense with', Loth 'endure'.

[72] Not in R.B. 'Hên Cydymdeith' means 'old companion'. Possibly there was another word after 'hên', reading 'Old—(so and so), companion to Arthur'.

[73] 'tref'. In Mod. W.='town'. In Med. W. it equalled a 'settlement', i.e. the area occupied by a joint community or clan.

[74] W.B. has 'tref'.

[75] W.B. 'Fferis'.

When Arthur and his hosts might come in front of a torrent, he found a narrow place on the water, and he R.B. 110
put his knife in its scabbard across the torrent. It would be enough of a bridge for the host of the three isles of Britain and the three isles adjoining,[76] with their plunder), Gwyddawg, the son of Menestyr (who slew Cai, and Arthur slew him and his brothers in vengeance for Cai), Garanwyn, the son of Cai, and Amren, the son of Bedwyr, and Eli Amyr,[77] and Rheu Rhwydd Dyrys, and Rhun Rudwern, and Eli and Trachmyr, the head huntsmen of Arthur, and Llwydeu, the son of W.B. 466
Cilcoed, and Huabwy,[78] the son of Gwyron, and Gwynn Godyfron, and Gweir Dathar Gwennidawg, and Gweir, the son of Cadellin of the Silver Brow, and Gweir Gwrhyd Ennwir, and Gweir Gwynn[2] of the Long[1] Spear (uncles of Arthur, his mother's brothers, sons of Llwch Llawwynnaug, from across the raging sea), Llenlleawg the Irishman, and the Exalted One of Britain, Cas, the son of Saidi, Gwrfan Gwallt Afwyn, and[1] Gwyllennhin,[79] the French King, and[1] Gwittart, the son of Aedd,[80] King of Ireland, Garselit the Irishman, Panawr, the head of a troop, and Fflendor,[81] the son of Naf, Gwynnhyfar, the *maer*[82] of Cornwall and

[76] Isle of Man, Isle of Wight, Anglesea.

[77] W.B. 'A Myr'. It is probable that there is a corruption here for 'Eli and Trachmyr', whose names follow almost directly.

[78] R.B. 'Hunabwy'.

[79] W.B. 'Gwilenhen'.

[80] R.B. 'Oedd'.

[81] W.B. 'Tlendor'.

[82] 'Maer'. The 'maer' was one of the administrative officers. He was in charge of executive duties in a 'cymwd'. Anwyl is incorrect in calling the 'maer' the steward.

Devon, the ninth man who plotted the Battle of Camlan, Celi and Cueli,[83] and Gilla of the Stag's Leg (three hundred acres did he leap over in the one leap; head leaper of Ireland was he[1]), Sol and Gwadyn Ossol, and Gwadyn Odyeith. (Sol could stand for a whole day on his one foot; Gwadyn Ossol, should he stand on the top of the highest mountain in the world, it would become a flat meadow under his feet;[84] Gwadyn Odeith, as great as the fire is on a heated mass of metal, when it is drawn forth from a forge, was the flashing fire of the soles of his feet, when a hard thing met them. He made ready a road for Arthur in his expeditions.) Hir Erwm and Hir Etrwm (the day on which they came to a feast, three *cantrefi* were ransacked before they came.[85] They
W.B. 467 ate until nones, and they drank until it was[1] night, when they went to sleep. And then[1] they devoured the heads
R.B. 111 of vermin through hunger, as if they had never eaten food before. When they went to a feast, they left neither fat nor lean, nor hot nor cold, nor sour nor sweet, nor fresh nor salt, nor cooked nor raw.[1]) Huarwar, the son of Halwn[86] (who asked his full of Arthur as a gift; it was the third great plague of Cornwall and Devon[2] when he got his full. No smile was ever found on him save when he was full); Gware Gwallt Euryn, the two cubs of the bitch Rhymi, Gwyddrud and Gwyddneu Astrus, Sugyn, the son of Sucnedydd (he would suck up the sea on which there might be three hundred ships, till there would be naught left but a dry

[83] W.B. ' Celli and Cuel '.
[84] W.B. ' foot '.
[85] Lit. ' in front of him '.
[86] R.B. ' Aflawn '.

beach.[87] He had a red breast-plate), Cacymwri,[88] Arthur's servant (whatever barn might be shown him, if there were the harvests[89] of thirty ploughs therein, he would thresh it with an iron flail, until the posts and the cross-beams and the rafters were no better than the small oats on the floor of the damp[90] barn in the stack[1]). And Dygyflwng and Anoeth Feidawc, and Hir Eidyl and Hir Amren, two servants of Arthur were they [and Gwefyl, the son of Gwestad (on the day he was sad, one of his lips would fall drooping to his navel, and the other become a cowl over his head)],[1] Uchtryd W.B. 468
Faryf Draws (who would cast the stiff red beard he had[1] across the forty-eight[91] rafters there were in Arthur's hall), Elidyr Cyfarwydd, Yskyrdaf and Yscudydd (two servants were they to Gwenhwyfar; their feet were as quick upon an errand as their thoughts), Brys, the son of Bryssethach, from the summit of the Black Fern-brake in Prydein, and Grudlwyn Gorr, Bwlch, and Cyfwlch, and Sefwlch, sons of Cleddyf Cyfwlch, grandsons of Cleddyf Difwlch. (Three glittering white

[87] 'traeth'. The word 'beach' hardly translates 'traeth'. It means a larger area, e.g. round an estuary, liable to be uncovered when the tide recedes.

[88] R.B. 'Racymwri'.

[89] The word in the texts is 'rwyf'. There is no authority for L. G.'s rendition 'harvest'. The word 'rhwyf' has three meanings —'ruler', 'need', 'oar', all meaningless in the context. What follows justifies the use of 'harvest'.

[90] The word 'llwng'=damp, is not in R.B. It may be 'llwm', empty; or possibly it is not an adjective qualifying 'barn' at all, but the ending of a proper name. See the ending of next name 'Dygyflwng'.

[91] W.B. 'fifty'.

things their three shields; three pointed piercing things their three spears; three sharp-edged cutting things their three swords, Glas, Glessic, and Gleissad.[92] Their three dogs, Call, Cuall, and Cafall; their three
R.B. 112 horses, Hwyrdydwg, and Drwgdydwg, and Llwyrdydwg; their three wives, Och, and Garym, and Diaspad; their three grandchildren, Lluched, and Nefed, and Eissiwed; their three daughters, Drwg, and Gwaeth, and Gwaethaf Oll; their three maidens, Eheubryd, the daughter of Cyfwlch, Gorascwrn, the daughter of Nerth, Gwaeddan, the daughter of Cynfelyn, the guardian of Pwyll, the half-man.)[93] Dwnn Diessic the chief, Eiladyr, the son of Penn Llarcan, Cynedyr[94]
W.B. 469 Wyllt, the son of Hettwn of the Silver Brow, Sawyl of the High Head, Gwalchmai, the son of Gwyar, Gwalhafed, the son of Gwyar, Gwrhyr Gwalstawd Ieithoedd (he knew all tongues), and Cethtrwm the Priest, Clust, the son of Clustfeinad (though he were buried seven cubits in the earth, fifty miles off would he hear the ant in the morning when it started from its nest), Medyr, the son of Methredydd (he would shoot the wren on Ysgeir Oerfel in Ireland exactly through the two legs from Gelliwic), Gwiawn of the Cat's-eye (who would cut off the corner on the eye of a fly without harming it[95]), Ol, the son of Olwydd (seven years

[92] The recitative effect of this passage depends entirely on alliteration, which cannot be reproduced.

[93] W.B. 'Kynfelyn Keudawc'. Loth reads Cynfelyn Keudawt as separate from Pwyll the Half-Man, but the context hardly justifies it.

[94] R.B. 'Cyfedyr'. [95] W.B. 'the eye'.

before his birth were his father's swine stolen, and when he attained to manhood he tracked the swine, and he came home with them in seven herds), Bedwini the Bishop, he who blessed Arthur's[1] food and drink.

For the sake of the golden-torqued daughters of this island, in addition to Gwenhwyfar, chief royal lady of this island, and Gwennhwyach, her sister, and Rathtyeu,[96] the only daughter of Clememhill,[97] and Celemon,[98] the daughter of Cai, and Tangwen,[99] the daughter of Gweir Dathar Wenidawg, Gwenn Alarch, the daughter of Cynnwyl Canhwch, Eurneid, the daughter of Clydno Eiddin, Enefawg, the daughter of Bedwyr, Enrhydreg, the daughter of Tudfathar, Gwennwledyr, the daughter of Gwaredur,[100] Cyrfach, Erdudful, the daughter of Tryffin, Eurolwen, the daughter of Gwdolwyn Gorr,[1] Teleri, the daughter of W.B. 470
Peul, Indeg, the daughter of Garwy Hir, Morfudd, the daughter of Uryen Reged, Gwenllian the fair, the R.B. 113
majestic maiden, Creiddylad, the daughter of Lludd the Silverhanded (the most highly esteemed maiden that has been in the three islands of the Mighty and their three adjoining islands. And for her Gwythyr, the son of Greidaw land Gwynn, the son of Nudd, both fight, every calends of May, till the Day of Judgement). Ellylw, the daughter of Neol Cynn Croc (and she lived three ages of men), Essyllt Finwen and Essyllt Fingul.

96 W.B. ' Rathtyen '.
97 W.B. ' Clememyl '.
98 R.B. ' Relemon '.
99 R.B. ' Tannwen '.
100 R.B. ' Gwaledur '.

And on all of them did Kulhwch, the son of Cilydd, invoke his gift.

Then said Arthur, 'Ah, sir, never have I heard anything of the maid of whom you speak, nor of her ancestors. Gladly will I send messengers to seek her. [Give me a while to seek her.' The boy said, 'I will gladly give from to-night until the corresponding one at the end of the year.' And then Arthur dispatched the messengers to every land within his boundaries to seek for that maiden, and][101] at the end of the[102] year the messengers of Arthur [returned, without having obtained either tidings or information about Olwen more than on the first day].[103] And then Kulhwch[104] said, 'Every one has received his boon, and I am still in need. I will go and take your honour away with me.' Then[1] said Cai, 'Ah, sir, overmuch do you asperse[105] Arthur. Set forth with me until you say that that maid is not[106] in the world, or until we find her. We will not separate from you.'

Cai arose then. Cai had a power. Nine nights and nine days could he be under water without drawing
W.B. 471 breath. Nine nights and nine days could he be without sleep. No doctor could heal Cai's sword wound. Valiant was Cai. When it seemed good to him, he

[101] W.B. 'from that night until the corresponding one of the next year messengers wandered about'. [102] W.B. 'that'.

[103] W.B. 'were without achieving anything'.

[104] W.B. 'unben', the chieftain.

[105] Both texts have 'gwerthei', sell, for 'gwarthei', shame. The words are often confused in old texts.

[106] W.B. 'that there is not (such a one as) she'.

would be as high as the highest tree in the world. Another quality had he. When the rain was heaviest, R.B. 114 a handbreadth above his hand and another below his hand would keep dry, and what might be in his hand, through the greatness of his heat. And when the cold was at its greatest upon his companions, he would be to them as a kindling thing[107] to light a fire.

Arthur called Bedwyr, who never feared to go on the quest that Cai might go upon. [This was (a quality) of Bedwyr that][2] none was as swift[108] as he in this island, save Arthur, and Drych, the son of Cibdar; and, this besides, though he was one-handed, three warriors could not draw blood in the field more swiftly than he. Another quality had he. One cut would there be of his spear, and nine counter-thrusts.[109]

Arthur called Cynddelig the Guide, 'Go you for me[2] upon this quest along with the chief, for[1] he was no worse a guide in the land he had never seen before than in his own land.

He called Gwrhyr Gwalstawd Ieithoedd, because[1] he knew all tongues. He called Gwalchmai, the son of Gwyar, since he had never returned home without the quest he had gone to seek. He was the best walker and the best rider; he was nephew to Arthur, son of his W.B. 472 sister, and his first cousin.

[107] Anwyl, 'fuel'. [108] W.B. 'beautiful'.

[109] Prof. Loth suggests that this means, 'one wound was caused by the spear on entering, and nine on coming out'. That hardly appears to be the sense. The sense seems to be that Bedwyr was so skilful with the spear that it took nine counter-thrusts to equal one thrust of his.

Arthur called Menw, the son of Teirgwaedd, because if they went into an infidel land, he might cast upon them an enchantment and[1] magic, so that no one should see them, and they should see every one.

They went on until they came to a great open plain, until they saw a great[1] fort, the greatest[110] of forts in the world. They walked on that day until evening.[1] When they thought they were close to the fort, they were no nearer than in the morning.[111] [And the second and the third day they walked on, and with difficulty did they come thereto. And when they came in front of the fort],[112] they saw a huge flock of sheep, without end or
R.B. 115 beginning to it, and a shepherd guarding the sheep on top of a knoll, and a coat of skins upon him, and near him a shaggy mastiff, which was larger than a stallion nine winters old. It was his lot[113] that he had never lost a lamb, let alone a full-grown wether. No troop ever came by him to which he did not cause wound or delay. The multitude of dead trees and bushes that might be on the plain his breath would burn down to the very earth.

Then said Cai, ' Gwrhyr Gwalstawd Ieithoedd, go to meet yonder man.' ' Cai,' said he,[1] ' I made no promise to go save so far as you yourself went.' ' Let us go together there,' said Cai.[1] Said Menw, the son of Teirgwaedd, ' Let there be no fear upon you going

[110] R.B. ' the fairest '.

[111] W.B. ' before '.

[112] W.B. ' nevertheless, when they came into the same plain as it '.

[113] ' deuawt ', lit. ' custom, usage '.

there. I will cast an enchantment upon the dog, so that he shall do harm to no one.'

[114]They came up to[2] where the shepherd was, and W.B. 473
said to him, 'You are rich, shepherd.' 'May you never be richer than I am,' said he. 'My God, since you are the chief!' 'I have no violence to despoil me save my wife.' 'Whose are the sheep you are guarding, or who owns yonder[1] castle?' ['Idiots of men are you.[1]] Throughout the world is it known that it is the fort of Yspaddaden, the Chief Giant.'[115] 'And who are you?' 'Custennin, called the son of Dyfnedig,[116] and because of my wife has my brother Yspaddaden, the Chief Giant, injured me.[117] And you, Who are you?' 'Messengers of Arthur are here, seeking Olwen [the daughter of Yspaddaden, the Chief Giant'].[1] 'Oh, men, the protection of God be with you. For the world, do not do that. No one has ever come to seek that quest, who has gone away with his life.'

The shepherd arose; and as he arose, Kulhwch gave him a ring of gold. He tried to put that ring on, but it would not go on, and he put it into the finger of his R.B. 116

[114] The whole of this passage is obscure. There seems to be a pun on the word 'priaud', which means (*a*) a wife, (*b*) property. We suspect there is behind it a slight hit at the Church, which was insisting on clerical benediction of marriage, and was distinguishing between 'gwraig', wife, and a 'gwraig priaud', a 'proper' wife, i.e. one married in church. In the passage Custennin appears to be attaching the sense of 'wife' to the word, the listeners mistaking his reference as being to 'property'.

[115] W.B. 'Yspaddaden, the Chief Giant, owns it'.

[116] W.B. 'amhynwyedic' = 'the unhappy married one'.

[117] W.B. 'Yspaddaden, the Chief Giant, despoiled my wife'.

glove, and went home, and gave the glove to his partner to keep.[1] And she took the ring from the glove. When she had put it aside, she said, ' (You) the owner of this ring! You are not wont to find treasure-trove.'[118] ' I went', said he,[1] ' to get food[119] from the sea. Behold, a corpse did I see, coming in on the ebb-tide;[120] and[1] never saw I more beautiful a corpse than it.[121] And on
W.B. 474 its finger did I find this ring.' ' Oh man! since the sea does not leave a dead jewel in it, show me that corpse.' ' Oh woman, him who owns the corpse you shall see here at evensong.' ' Who is that?' said the woman. ' Kulhwch, the son of Kilydd, the son of Celyddon Wledig, by Goleuddydd, the daughter of Anlawdd Wledig, his mother, who has come to seek Olwen as his wife.'[1] Two feelings possessed her. She was glad that her nephew, her sister's son, should come to her; she was sorry since she had never seen any one who had come on that quest go away with his life.

They repaired to the gate of the court of Custennin the shepherd; and when she heard the noise of their coming, she ran to meet them with joy. Cai seized a piece of wood from the haycart; and she came to meet them in order to embrace[122] them. And Cai thrust the log into her hands, and she squeezed the log until it was a twisted withe. ' Ah, woman,' said Cai, ' were it me that you had squeezed so, it would never have been

[118] R.B. ' to have good luck '.

[119] ' morfwyd ' = sea-food, i.e. fish.

[120] R.B. ' waves '.

[121] W.B. ' so beautiful . . . as it '.

[122] Lit. ' to put her two hands on their necks '. A common phrase in the stories for ' embracing '.

the lot of another to fall in love with me. Bad love was that.'

They came into the house, and they were served. After an interval, when everybody left their usual place,[123] the woman opened a stone[1] chest, which stood in front of the fire-stone,[124] and out of it arose a curly yellow-haired boy. Said Gwrhyr, 'It is a pity to hide W.B. 475
such a boy as this. I know it is not any fault of his that is avenged on him.' The woman said, 'He is but a remnant. Three and twenty sons of mine has Yspadda- R.B. 117
den, the Chief Giant, killed. I have no more hope of keeping this one than the others.' And then[1] Cai said, 'Let him keep company with me; and we shall not be killed except together.'

They had food, and[1] the woman said, 'On what quest have you come here?' 'We have come to seek Olwen [for this youth.' Then said the woman][1] 'For God's sake, since none from the fort has seen you yet, return back.' 'God knows, we will not return until we have seen the maiden.' Said Cai,[1] 'Does she ever come here,[1] so that she might be seen?' 'She comes here every Saturday to wash her head; and in the vessel in which she washes, she leaves all her rings. Neither she nor her messenger ever comes for them.' 'Will she come here, if she is sent a message?' 'God knows, I will not slay my soul, nor will I mislead those who trust me. But if you give me your faith that you will

[123] R.B. 'all went out to play'.

[124] 'Maen pentan', the stone at the back of the fire; therefore, the 'hearth', the centre of family life in old Wales.

do no harm to her, I will send a message to her.' 'We will give (it),' said they;[1] and a message was sent to her.

She came. And[2] a tunic of flame-red satin on her, and a massive torque of red gold upon the maiden's
W.B. 476 neck, and priceless pearls in it and rubies. Yellower was her head than the flowers of the broom; whiter was her skin than the foam of the waves; fairer[125] were her two hands[126] and her fingers than the petals of the campion in the midst of the gravel-bed of a welling spring.[127] Neither the gaze of the moulted hawk, nor the gaze of the thrice-moulted young falcon was a brighter gaze than hers. Whiter were her breasts than the breast of the white swan; redder were her two[2] lips than the reddest[1] foxglove. Such as saw her were filled with her love. Four white clover blossoms would spring up[128] in her footprints what road soever she might come by.[129] And for that reason was she called Olwen.[130]

She came into the house, and sat down beside
R.B. 118 Kulhwch at the end of a bench; and as he saw her, he recognized her. And Kulhwch said to her, 'Ah

[125] W.B. 'whiter'. [126] W.B. 'palms'.

[127] W.B. text, 'no chanawon godrwyth o blith man grayan fynhawn fynhonus'. R.B. has 'man gayan' vice 'man grayan'. 'Man grayan' implies the gravelly bed of a spring. 'Man gayan' does certainly not mean 'spray', as rendered by L. G.; probably it means 'the topmost edges'. The W.B. text seems to be the correct one, and, if so, it helps in the identification of the flower 'godrwyth'. Dr. Lloyd Williams has written us that he is satisfied, on the reading 'man grayan', that the 'godrwyth' of the text is the 'bladder-campion'. This opinion is accepted here.

[128] W.B. 'grew'.

[129] W.B. 'wherever she might go'.

[130] 'Olwen' means 'white footprints'.

maiden, you have I loved. Will you[2] come away with me, lest sin should be occasioned to you and to me? [Many a day have I loved you.'][1] 'I cannot do that. My faith has my father demanded of me that I will not go without his consent; for his life will last only until I go away with a husband. What is, must be. Nevertheless, counsel will I give you, if you will accept it. Go and seek me of my father. How much soever he may ask of you,[131] promise to get it, and you shall have me; and if you oppose him[1] in anything, you will not get me. And well will it be for you if you escape with your life.' 'I will promise all those, and I will get them,' said he.[1]

She walked to her chamber; and they rose, and (went) after her to the fort, and slew the nine sentries of the gate[1] that were at the nine gates, without one man uttering a cry. And nine mastiffs without one squeaking. W.B. 477

And they proceeded straightway into the hall, and said,[2] 'The greeting of God and of men, Yspaddaden, Chief Giant,' said they.[1] 'And you, whence[132] have you come?' 'We have come to seek Olwen, your daughter, for Kulhwch, the son of Kilydd, the son of Celyddon Wledig.' 'Where are my evil servants and my scamps? Lift up the forks under my two eyelids, [which have fallen over my eyes][1] so that I may see the substance of my son-in-law.' That they did. 'Come here to-morrow, and I will give you some[133] answer.'

They arose (and went) away; and Yspaddaden, the

[131] R.B. 'and everything he tells you to get'.
[132] W.B. 'kwt ymdewch': R.B. 'pan doethawch'.
[133] R.B. 'you shall have an . . .'

Chief Giant, seized one of three poisoned stone-spears which were by his hand, and he hurled it after them, and Bedwyr caught it, and hurled it back at him, and pierced Yspaddaden, the Chief Giant, right through the muscle of his thigh. And he said, 'A cursed savage son-in-law. As long as I live, I shall walk for ever the worse along a slope. Like the bite of gadflies has this
R.B. 119 poisoned iron[134] pained me. Accursed be the smith who fashioned it, and the anvil it was fashioned on, so painful it is.'

That night also[1] they lodged in the house of Custennin, the shepherd.[1]

The second day they went in pomp, and with hair
W.B. 478 well-combed they came to the fort and inside[1] the hall. And they said, 'Yspaddaden, Chief Giant, give us your daughter in return for her *agweddi* and *amobyr*,[135] to you and her two kinswomen. And if you give her not, your death shall you meet with because of her.'[2] And he said,[1] 'She and her four great-grandmothers,[136] and

[134] It will be noticed that the various implements when hurled by Yspaddaden are of stone, but when flung back they are of iron. The episode is reminiscent of the change of material for weapons brought about as the Stone Age passed into the Iron Age.

[135] 'agweddi' = the dowry with which a husband endowed his wife at marriage. It was a fixed sum or share in his property. 'amobyr', a maiden-fee, paid by the husband either to (*a*) the relatives of the bride, or (*b*) to the territorial lord in whose dominions she dwelt. The payment to kinswomen is, to say the least, unusual.

[136] The right of consultation, in historic times, was confined to the near male relatives. The reference to the great-grandmothers is an echo, perhaps, of a much earlier state of society to what existed in the tenth century.

her four great-grandfathers are still alive. I must take counsel with them.' 'Be it so unto you,' said they, 'we will go to eat.'

As they arose, he took the second stone spear, which was at his hand, and he hurled it after them. And Menw, the son of Teirgwaedd, caught it, and hurled it at him, and wounded him in the middle of his chest, so that it came out in the small of his back. 'A cursed savage son-in-law,' said he.[1] 'Like the bite of a horse-leech has this hard iron pained me. Accursed be the furnace wherein it was heated [and the smith who fashioned it, so painful it is].[1] When I go up hill now, I shall feel anguish[137] in my chest, and a stomach-ache, and a frequent loathing of food.' They went to their food.

And the third day they came to the court. They said, 'Yspaddaden, Chief Giant, shoot not again, unless you desire [wounds, injury and][2] your death.' 'Where are my servants? Lift up the forks; my eyelids have fallen over my eyeballs; so that I can look upon the semblance of my son-in-law.' They arose, and as they arose, Yspaddaden, Chief Giant,[138] took the third poisoned stone spear, and hurled it after them. And Kulhwch W.B. 479
caught it, and hurled it at him, as he wished; and pierced him through the eyeball, until it came out through the nape of his neck. 'A cursed savage son-in-law. Whilst I am left alive, worse will be the sight of R.B. 120
my eyes. When I go against the wind, they will boil; my head will always ache, and giddiness will be upon me before every moon. Accursed be the furnace wherein

[137] Anwyl, 'asthma'. [138] W.B. 'he'.

it was fashioned. Like the bite of a rabid dog has this poisoned iron pierced me.' They went to their food.

The next day they came to the court, and said, 'Shoot not at us again,[1] unless you would have wounds, and harm, and martyrdom, like what you have, and even worse than that. Give us your daughter [and unless you give her, your death shall you meet because of her'].[1] 'Where is he who has come to seek[139] my daughter?' ['I seek her; Kulhwch, the son of Kilydd.'][2] 'Come here that I may look upon you.' A chair was placed for him, face to face with him.

Said Yspaddaden, Chief Giant, 'Is it you who seeks my daughter?' 'It is[2] I who seek her,'[2] said Kulhwch.[1] 'I want your faith, that you will not do to me worse than what is fair; when I myself have got that which I shall state to you, you shall have my daughter.' 'You shall have it gladly,' said Kulhwch,[1] 'state what you will state.'

'I will state it,' said he.[1] 'Do you see that big hill over there?' 'I see it.' 'I wish it to be removed from the earth, and to be burnt level with the ground, until
W.B. 480 it shall be in the place of[140] manure for it; and that it be ploughed and sown [in one day, and that it shall ripen, and that in the space of one day, and from that wheat I wish to have food and drink made, fit[141]] for the

[139] R.B. 'seeks'.

[140] W.B. reads 'hyt pan hydeclo . . .', the meaning of which we cannot determine, but suggest, 'until it shall be turned into soot . . .', which is followed by 'I wish its ashes shall be manure for it'.

[141] W.B. 'so that it shall be ripe by morning, against the time of dew, and so that food and drink shall be made . . .'

marriage feast of you and my daughter. And all that do I require to be done in one day.'

'It is easy for me to get that; although it may seem to you not to be easy.'

'Though you get that, there is a thing you will not get. There is no tiller who can till that land or make it ready, so tangled is it,[1] save Amaethon, the son of Don. He will not come to you of his own free will, nor can you force him.'

'Easily will I get him, although it may seem to you that it is not easy.'

'Though you get that, there is a thing you will not R.B. 121
get. Gofannon, the son of Don, to come to the headland to fasten the irons. He will not do the work[142] of his own free will, except for a qualified[28] king, and you cannot force him.'

'Easy is that for me.'[143]

'Though you should get that, there is a thing you will not get. The two oxen of Gwlwlydd Gwineu, the two yoked together, to plough yonder tangled land well. He will not give them of his own free will, and you cannot force him.'

'Easy is it for me to get that.'

'Though you get that, there is a thing you will not get. The Melyn Gwanwyn, and the ox Brych, both yoked together, do I require.'

'Easy is it for me to get that.'

'Though you get that, there is a thing you will not

[142] R.B. 'come'.

[143] This recurrent phrase is henceforth abbreviated in the texts.

get. The two Ychen Bannog, the one is on the farther side of Mynydd Bannog, and the other on this side. And to yoke them together to the same plough. These
W.B. 481 are they, Nynnyaw and Peibaw, whom God transformed into oxen for their sins.'

'It is easy for me to get that.'

'Though you get that, there is a thing you will not get. Do you see yonder red-tilled land?' 'I see.' 'When first I met the mother of this maiden, nine hestors[144] of flax were sown therein, and neither black nor white has yet come forth therefrom. And that measure have I still. And I require to have that flax sown[1] in yonder new land; so that it will serve as a white veil on my daughter's head, on the day of your marriage-feast.'

'It is easy for me to get that, though you may think it is not easy.'

'Though you may get that, there is a thing you will not get. Honey that shall be nine times finer than the honey of the first swarm, without drones and without bees in it, do I require[1] to supply bragod[145] for the feast.'

'It is easy for me to get that, though you may think it is not easy.'

'The cup of Llwyr, the son of Llwyryon, in which there is supreme good, for there is no vessel in the

[144] 'hestor' = two bushels.

[145] 'bragod'. Mead, not bragod, was made from honey. 'Bragod' was malt-ale, popularly regarded as twice as strong as ordinary ale, but far less intoxicating than 'mead'.

world that will hold that strong drink, save it. You R.B. 122
will not get it of his own free will; nor can you force him.'

'It is easy for me to get that, even though you think it is not easy.'

'Though you may get that, there is a thing you will not get. The 'mwys'[146] of Gwyddneu Garanhir. Should the world assemble together, thrice nine men at a time,[147] the food that all would wish for they will get therein, according to their desire. I require to eat therefrom the night my daughter sleeps with you. He will give it to no one of his own free will; nor can you force him.'

'It is easy for me to get that, though you may think it is not easy.'

'Though you get that, there is a thing you will not get. The horn of Gwlgawd Gododin[148] to pour out for us that night. He will not give it of his own free will, nor can you force him.'

'It is easy for me to get that, though you may think it is not easy.'

'Though you get that, there is a thing you will not W.B. 482

[146] 'Mwys'=receptacle. Gwyddneu Garanhir is the original of the Fisher King of romance. His 'mwys' or magic receptacle appears here in one form; another story describes it as a fishing-net. It seems to be the original receptacle, mysterious in form and content, out of which the Holy Grail developed.

[147] W.B. reads 'should the world come above it, thrice nine men together'.

[148] R.B. 'Gogodin'. W.B. 'Gododin'. The latter is the proper form. Gododin=the land of the Otadini, i.e. modern Midlothian.

get. The harp of Teirtu to entertain us that night. When a man desires, it will play of itself; when he wishes it to be silent,[1] it will be silent. And that he will not give of his own free will, nor can you force him.'

'It is easy for me to get that, though you may think it is not easy.'

['Though you get that, there is a thing you will not get. The birds of Rhiannon; they who awake the dead, and put the living to sleep, do I wish for to entertain me that night.'

'It is easy for me to get that, though you may think it is not easy.'][149]

'Though you may get that, there is a thing you will not get. The cauldron of Diwrnach the Irishman, the *maer*[82] of Odgar, the son of Aedd, King of Ireland, to boil food for your wedding-feast.'

'It is easy for me to get that, though you may think it is not easy.'

'Though you get that, there is one thing you will not get. I must wash my head, and shave my beard. The tusk of Yscithyrwyn, the chief boar, do I require to shave myself with, nor will I benefit from it, unless it is pulled out of his head while alive.'

'It is easy for me to get that, though you may think it is not easy.'

'Though you get that, there is a thing you will not get. There is no one in the world who can pull it out

[149] This beautiful passage is omitted in R.B. Its preservation is of particular value, for it tells us the burden of the song which the birds of Rhiannon sang in Branwen.

of his head, save Odgar, the son of Aedd, King of Ireland.'

'It is easy for me to get that.'

'Though you get that, there is one thing you will not get. I will not trust any one to keep the tusk save Cado[150] of Prydein. Sixty *cantrefi* of Prydein are under him. He will not come from his kingdom of his own free will, nor can you force him.' R.B. 123

'It is easy for me to get that, though you may think it is not easy.'

'Though you get that, there is a thing you will not get. I must stretch out my hair for me to be shaved. It will never be stretched out unless the blood of the Witch Orddu, the daughter of the Witch Orwenn, from Pennant Gofud, in the borderland of hell, be got.'

'It is easy for me to get that; though you may think it is not easy.'

'Though you get that, there is a thing you will not get. I wish not for the blood, unless it is got hot. There is no vessel in the world that will keep hot the liquid that is put therein, save the bottles of Gwiddolwyn Gorr, which will keep hot whatever liquid is put in them in the east until it shall come to the west. He will not give them of his own free will, nor can you force him.' W.B. 483

'Easy is it for me, et cetera.'

'Though you get . . . Some will wish for milk; but milk cannot be arranged for all, unless the bottles of

[150] W.B. 'Kadw'.

Rhinnon Rhin the judge are obtained. In them liquor never turns sour. He will give them to nobody of his own free will, nor can you force him.'

'Easy is it for me, etc.'

'Though you get, etc. . . . There is no comb in the world or scissors with which my hair can be dressed, because of its stiffness, save the comb and scissors which are between the two ears of Twrch Trwyth, the son of Tared Wledig. He will not give it of his own free will, etc.'

'Easy is it for me, etc.'

'Though you get, etc. . . . The Twrch Trwyth cannot be hunted, until Drudwyn, the cub of Greit, the son of Eri, is obtained.'

'Easy is it, etc.'

'Though you get, etc. . . . There is not in the world a leash that will hold him, save the leash of Cwrs Cant Ewin.'

'Easy it is, etc.'

'Though you get, etc. . . . There is no collar in the world that will hold the leash, except the collar of Canhastyr Canllaw.'

'Easy, etc.'

'Though you get that, there is a thing you cannot get. The chain of Kilydd Canhastyr to hold the collar with the leash.'

'Easy is it, etc.'

R.B. 124 'Though, etc. . . . There is not in the world a huntsman who can hunt with that dog, save Mabon, the son of Modron, who was taken away the third night

from his mother ; it is not known where he is, nor if he be alive or dead.'

'Easy is it, etc.'

'Though, etc. . . . Gwynn Myngdwn, the horse of Gweddw, as swift is he as the wave, beneath Mabon to hunt the Twrch Trwyth. He will not give it of his own free will, etc.'

'Easy is it, etc.'

'Though you get, etc. . . . Mabon will never be got, since[1] it is not known where he is, unless Eidoel, the W.B. 484
son of Aer, his nearest kinsman, is got; for profitless would it be to seek him. He is his cousin.'

'Easy, etc.'

'Though, etc. . . . Garsclit the Irishman is the chief huntsman in Ireland. The Twrch Trwyth can never be hunted without him.'

'Easy is it, etc.'

'Though, etc. . . . A leash from the beard of Dissull Farchawg;[151] for there is nothing that will hold those two cubs except it, and no profit can be got from it, unless it be pulled from his beard alive, and plucked out with tweezers. Not while he lives can that be done by any one;[2] it would be useless were it dead, for it would be brittle.'

'Easy is it, etc.'

'Though you get that, etc. . . . There is no huntsman in the world who can hold those two cubs, save Cynedyr

[151] Both texts have 'Farchawg', rider, for 'Farfawg', the bearded one, which was Dissull's cognomen. Evidence of the use of a common original.

Wyllt, the son of Hettwn the Leper; wilder nine times is he than the wildest wild animal in the mountain. You will never get him, nor will you get my daughter.'

'Easy is it, etc.'

'Though you get, etc. . . . The Twrch Trwyth cannot be hunted, without getting Gwynn, the son of Nudd, in whom God has placed the spirit of the devils of Annwfn, lest they should destroy this world. He cannot be spared from there.'

'Easy is it, etc.'

'Though, etc. . . . There is no horse in the world[1] that will bear Gwynn to hunt the Twrch Trwyth, save Du, the horse of Moro Oerfeddawc.'

'Easy is it, etc.'

'Though, etc. . . . Unless Gilennhin, the French King, comes, the Twrch Trwyth can never be hunted without him. Unseemly is it for him to leave his kingdom for your sake, and never will he come here.'

'Easy is it, etc.'

R.B. 125 'Though, etc. . . . The Twrch Trwyth can never be hunted without getting the son of Alun Dyfed; he is skilled at unleashing dogs.'

'Easy it is, etc.'

W.B. 485 'Though, etc. . . . The Twrch Trwyth can never be hunted without getting Aned and Aethlem, as swift as the breeze are they. Never were they unleashed upon a beast they did not kill.'

'Easy, etc.'

'Though you get, etc. . . . Arthur and his huntsmen[152]

[152] R.B. 'companions'.

to hunt the Twrch Trwyth. He is a man of dominions, and he will not come for your sake, nor can you force him.[153] And this is the reason: he is under my hand.'[2]

'Easy, etc.'

'Though, etc. . . . The Twrch[154] Trwyth can never be hunted without getting Bwlch, and Cyfwlch, and Syfwlch, the sons of Kilydd Cyfwlch, grandsons of Cleddyf Difwlch. Three glittering white things their three shields; three pointed piercing things their three spears; three sharp-edged cutting things their three swords, Glas, Gleissic, and Gleissac;[155] their three dogs, Call, Cuall, and Cafall; their three horses, Hwyrdydwg, and Drwgdydwg, and Llwyrdydwg; their three wives, Och, and Garam, and Diaspat; their three witches,[156] Lluched, and Fyned,[157] and Eissiwet; their three daughters, Drwg, and Gwaeth, and Gwaethaf Oll; their three maidens, these three persons sound their horns, and all the rest utter a cry of distress, so that none can tell if the sky has fallen on the earth.'[158]

153 W.B. 'for you'.

154 Compare with the similar passage on pp. 111–12, R.B. Loth punctuates differently; but he seems to be inaccurate. See, however, his footnote. This passage omits the names of the three maidens, Eheubryd, Gorascwn, and Gwaeddan, which accounts for Loth's punctuation. Moreover his punctuation makes the names inappropriate, e.g. Hwyrdydwg, Drwgdydwg, and Llwyrdydwg are appropriate names for horses, and quite inappropriate for wives. The humour of the latters' names, Och, Garam, and Diaspat, is obvious.

155 W.B. 'Gleissad'.

156 Both texts have 'gwreichon', pl. of gwrâch, witch. On fol. 112 the word is 'wyryon'.

157 W.B. 'Nyfed'.

158 R.B. 'until all think that the sky is falling on the earth'.

'Easy is it, etc.'

'Though, etc. . . . The sword of Gwrnach the Giant. Never can it be slain save by it. He will not give it of his own will,[1] neither for price nor favour, nor can you force him.'

'Easy is it, etc.'

'Though you get, etc. . . .[159] Wakefulness without sleep at night shall you get in seeking it, and you shall not obtain it; nor shall you get my daughter.'

'Horses shall I get and horsemanship; and my lord kinsman, Arthur, shall get me all those things; and your daughter shall I get, and you shall lose your life.'

W.B. 486 'Go forward now. Neither the food nor clothes[160] of my daughter shall you be liable for, while you seek these things; and when you have obtained all these difficult things,[161] my daughter shall you get as your property.'[1]

R.B. 126 They travelled that day until evening, until they saw a great[1] castle built of stone and mortar,[2] the largest of forts[2] in the world. Lo! a black man saw they[2] coming from the fort. Larger was he[1] than three men of this world, and they said to him, 'Where, man, do you come from?' 'From the fort you see yonder.' 'Who owns the fort?' said they.[1] 'Fools of men that you are. There is no one in the world who does not

[159] The nature of the task is omitted.

[160] This is the only indication we are aware of in Welsh lore that it was the duty, after formal betrothal, of the future bridegroom to furnish maintenance for the bride. It is, of course, a common incident of betrothal elsewhere in early times.

[161] W.B. 'Get them, and when you have got them'.

know who owns this fort; Gwrnach the Giant owns it.' 'What is the treatment for a guest and one coming from afar who alights at this fort?' 'Ah, sir, God protect you. No guest has ever come from it with his life, and no one is admitted into it, unless he bring his craft with him.'[1]

They proceeded to the gate. Gwrhyr Gwalstawd Ieithoedd said,[162] 'Is there a gate-keeper?' 'There is. And you, whose tongue is not silent in your head, why do you accost me?' 'Open the door.' 'I will not open it.' 'What is the reason you will not open it?' 'The knife is in the food, and the drink is in the drinking-horn; and there is a throng in the hall of Gwrnach the Giant.[1] Except to a craftsman who brings his craft inside,[1] it will not be opened here again to-night.'[1] Then Cai said, 'Gate-keeper, I have a craft.' 'What craft have you?' 'The best burnisher of swords in the world am I.' 'I will go and tell that to Gwrnach the Giant, and will bring an answer to you.'

The gate-keeper came inside, and Gwrnach the Giant[2] said to him,[1] 'Have you tidings at the gate?' W.B. 487
'I have. There is a troop at the door of the gate that wishes to come inside.' 'Did you ask if they had a craft with them?' 'I did ask,' said he,[1] 'and one of them said that he knew how[163] to burnish swords well.[1] Do we need him?'[164] 'For some time I have been seek-

[162] Cf. this passage with the preceding one of Kulhwch's arrival at Arthur's court.

[163] W.B. 'could'.

[164] W.B. 'I need him'.

ing one who would clean my sword, and I have found none. Let that one in, since he has a craft.'

The gate-keeper came and opened the gate, and Cai
R.B. 127 came in himself, and he greeted Gwrnach the Giant. A chair was placed for him in front of Gwrnach,[1] and Gwrnach said to him,[1] 'Man, is that which is said of you true, that you know how to burnish a sword?' 'I know that well,' said Cai.

Gwrnach's[165] sword was brought to him. Cai took a blue whetstone from under his armpit, and asked[1] which of the two he preferred, white-hafted or blue-hafted. 'Do thereon that which seems good to you, just as if you were doing your own.' He cleaned half of one sword for him, and put it in his hand. 'Does that satisfy you?' 'It would please me better than whatever there is in my land, if it were all like this. It is a pity that a man like you is without a companion.' 'Oh, *gwrda*, I have a companion, though he does not follow this craft.' 'Who is he?' 'Let the gatekeeper go out, and I will tell him the marks[166] he has. The head of his spear will come from the shaft, and it will draw blood from the wind, and descend again[1] upon
W.B. 488 the shaft.' The door was opened, and Bedwyr came inside. And Cai said, 'Bedwyr is a valiant man, though he does not know this craft.'

There was much debate among the[167] men who were[1] outside because Bedwyr and Cai had gone inside. And

[165] W.B. 'I can. And the . . .'

[166] 'arwydon'; possibly a reference to some kind of ensign borne.

[167] W.B. 'those'.

a young man who was with them, the only son of Custennin the shepherd, came in; and he, and his companions who were attached to him, crossed the three wards until he was within the fort.[168] His companions said to Custennin's son. 'You have achieved this;[1] you are the best man.'[169] And thenceforth he was called Goreu, the son of Custennin. They separated to go to their lodgings that they might slay the owners of the lodgings, without the giant knowing.

The burnishing of the sword was finished, and Cai placed it in the hand of Gwrnach the Giant, so as to see if he were pleased with the work. And the giant R.B. 128 said, 'The work is good, and I am pleased.' Cai said, 'Your scabbard has spoilt your sword. Give it to me to take the wooden casing out, and I will seek[2] to make a new one for it.' And he took the scabbard from him, and the sword in the other hand, and he came and stood above the giant, as if to put the sword into the scabbard. He placed it in the head of the giant, and cut off his head with one blow. They laid the fort waste, and took what they wished of its movables and jewels.

And on the anniversary of the day[170] on which they had set out, they came to Arthur's court, and the sword

[168] R.B. text. W.B. reads: 'And a young man came with them, the only son of Custennin the shepherd. And he and his companions, who were attached to him, succeeded in crossing the three wards until they came within the fort'.

[169] 'Goreu dyn', hence the name 'Goreu'.

[170] Lit. 'and on the namesake of the same day at the end of the year'.

of Gwrnach the Giant with them. They told Arthur as it had happened to them.

Arthur said, 'Which of those difficult things is it best for us to attempt first?' 'It will be best', said they, 'to seek Mabon, the son of Modron, and he will not be found, unless Eidoel, the son of Aer, his kinsman, is first found.'

Arthur arose, and the warriors of the Isle of Britain with him, to search for Eidoel; and they came right in front of Caer Glini, in the place where Eidoel was a prisoner. Glini was standing on the top of the fort, and he said, 'Arthur, what do you demand of me, since you do not leave me on this tump? I have nothing good in it, nor anything joyful, neither wheat nor oats, though you do not seek to do me harm.' And Arthur said, 'Not (to do) harm to you have I come here, but to seek the prisoner who is with you.' 'I will give you the prisoner, and I had not intended to give him to any one; and along with that, my strength and support shall you have.'

His men said to Arthur, 'Lord, go you home, you
R.B. 129 cannot go with your host to seek so petty a thing as these.' Arthur said, 'Gwrhyr Gwalstawd Ieithoedd, it is fitting for you to go upon this quest. You know all tongues, and can interpret those of birds and animals. Eidoel, it is fitting for you to go in search of him, your cousin, along with my men. Cai and Bedwyr, it is my hope that you will accomplish the quest you go upon. Go you for me upon this quest.'

They travelled straightway as far as the Ouzel of

Cilgwri. Gwrhyr asked her, 'For God's sake, do you know aught of Mabon, the son of Modron, who was taken, when three nights old, from between his mother and the wall?' The Ouzel said, 'When first I came here, there was a smith's anvil here, and I, I was a young bird. No work has been done upon it, save when my beak was upon it every evening. To-day there is not so much as a nut of it that has not been worn away. The vengeance of God be upon me, if I have heard aught of the man of whom you ask. Nevertheless, that which is fitting and due from me to do for Arthur's messengers, I will do. There is a species of animals which God gave form to before me. I will go as a guide for you to it.'

They came as far as the place where the Stag of Rhedynfre was. 'Stag of Rhedynfre, here have we come to you, messengers from Arthur, for we know no animal older than you. Say, do you know aught of Mabon, the son of Modron, who was taken away from his mother when three nights old?' The stag said, 'When I came here first, there was but one antler on each side of my head; and there was no tree here, save one oak-sapling. And that grew into an oak-tree, with a hundred branches, and the oak-tree fell down thereafter, and to-day there is nothing of it save its red stump. From that time until to-day have I been here; I have heard naught of him you ask about. Nevertheless, I myself will be your R.B. 130 guide, since you are Arthur's messengers, unto a place where there is an animal whom God formed before me.'

They came to the place where the Owl of Cwm

Cawlwyd was. 'Owl of Cwm Cawlwyd, here are Arthur's messengers. Know you aught of Mabon, the son of Modron, who was taken, etc.' 'If I knew it, I would tell it. When first I came here, the great valley which you see was a wooded vale; and a race of men came to it and laid it waste. And a second wood grew up therein; and this is the third wood; and I, my wings are now but withered stumps. From that time till to-day I have heard naught of the man of whom you ask. Nevertheless, I myself will be a guide to Arthur's messengers until you come to a place where there is the oldest animal which is in this world, and the widest travelled, the Eagle of Gwern Abwy.'

Gwrhyr said, 'Eagle of Gwern Abwy. We messengers of Arthur have come to you to ask you if you know aught of Mabon, the son of Modron, who was taken, etc.' The Eagle said, 'I came here a long, long time ago; and when first I came here there was a stone here, and from the top of it I pecked the stars every evening. Now it is not a hand's breadth in height. From that time until to-day have I been here, and naught have I heard of the man of whom you ask. But I went once on a journey to seek my food as far as in Llyn Llyw. And when I came there, I struck my claws into a salmon, thinking there would be food for me for a long time from him. He drew me down into the deep, until there was difficulty for me to escape from him. Then we went, I and all my kindred, to attack him, and to seek to destroy him. He sent messengers to make peace with me; and he came himself to

me, to take fifty harpoons out of his back. Unless he knows something of that which you seek, I know nobody who can know of it. Nevertheless, I myself will be your guide to the place where he is.' R.B. 131

They came to the place where he was. The Eagle said, 'Salmon of Llyn Llyw. I have come to you with Arthur's messengers to ask if you know aught of Mabon, the son of Modron, who was taken when three nights old from his mother.' 'As much as I know, I will tell you. With every rise of the tide, I go along up the river until I come nigh unto the walls of Caer Loyw; and there have I found so much evil as I have never found (elsewhere); and so that you may believe, let one of you come thither on my two shoulders.'

So Cai and Gwrhyr Gwalstawd Ieithoedd went upon the salmon's two shoulders. And they travelled until they came to the other side of the wall to the prisoner; there they heard moaning and groaning on the other side of the wall to them. Gwrhyr said, 'Who is the man who moans in this house of stone?' 'Alas, man, he who is here has reason to moan. Mabon, the son of Modron, is here in prison, and no one was ever imprisoned so harshly as regards a prison as I; not the prison of Lludd of the Silver Hand, nor the prison of Greit, the son of Eri.' 'Have you hope of being let go, either for gold or for silver, or the wealth of this world, or through battle and fighting?' 'As much of me as will be obtained, will be obtained through fighting.'

They returned thence, and came to the place where

Arthur was. They told him the place where Mabon, the son of Modron, was in prison. Arthur summoned the warriors of this island, and went as far as Caer Loyw, the place where Mabon was in prison. Cai and Bedwyr went on the two shoulders of the fish. While Arthur's warriors assaulted the fort, Cai tore through the wall, and took the prisoner on his back; and they
R.B. 132 fought with men as before with men.[171] Arthur came home, and Mabon with him free.

Said Arthur, 'Which of the difficult things is it now most fitting for us to seek first?' 'It is most fitting for us to seek for the two cubs of the bitch Rhymi.' 'Is it known', said Arthur, 'where she is?' 'She is', said one, 'at Aber Deu Cleddyf.'

Arthur came to the house of Tringad in Aber Cleddyf; and he asked him, 'Have you heard of her here? What disguise is she in?' 'In the disguise of a she-wolf,' said he, 'and with her two cubs with her she goes about. She has frequently slain my beasts, and she is down below in Aber Cleddyf within a cave.' So Arthur sent (a part of his troops) by sea on Prydwen, his ship, and the others by land to hunt the bitch;[172] and thus they made a ring around her and her two cubs, and

[171] 'ac ymlad ar gwyr ual kynt ar gwyr'. A difficult passage; translated literally. It appears to mean that Arthur's warriors continued fighting, while Cai was rescuing Mabon and bringing him out of the fort in safety. Possibly the text is incomplete, or 'ar gwyr' has been written twice. Another explanation is that the first 'gwyr' is an error for 'gaer', making the passage read, 'whilst the men continued to attack the fort as before'.

[172] This appears to be the sense of the passage, but it would seem that there are some omissions.

they were restored to their own form by God for Arthur. And Arthur's host separated in ones and in twos.

And one day, as Gwrthyr, the son of Greidawl, was walking across a mountain, he heard a lamenting and pitiful groaning. And it was pitiful to hear them.[173] He rushed himself in that direction, and when he came there, he unsheathed his sword and smote the ant-hill level with the ground, and so saved them from the fire; and they said to him, 'Receive the blessing of God from us; and that which no man can ever deliver, we will come to deliver for you.' They, thereupon, came with the nine hestors of flax, which Yspaddaden, the Chief Giant, had mentioned to Kulhwch, in full measure, without one wanting except one flax-seed. And a lame ant came with that before night.

When Cai and Bedwyr were sitting on the top of Punlummon on Carn Gwylathyr, in the highest wind in the world, they looked around them, and they saw a R.B. 133 great smoke towards the south, far off them, without turning at all with the wind. And then Cai said, 'By the hand of my friend, see yonder the fire of a warlike

[173] The word in the text is 'garscon'. It is unknown to Welsh philologists. Professor J. E. Lloyd suggests it is a corruption of 'garw son'='harsh sound'. He informs us that Professor Ifor Williams agrees with this. The passage seems to be a mutilated one, something having been omitted in transcription which would have given a clearer indication of what was meant. The general sense, however, is, that to fulfil the task set of collecting the flax-seed, a nest of ants volunteered to help, in return for their rescue from fire by Greidawl. Anwyl suggests 'piteous'; which we adopt. Cf. with Garsclit, vice Garselit, on p. 207.

man.'[174] They hastened towards the smoke, and they approached it so as to see, from afar,[175] that it was Dillus Farfawg, roasting a wild boar. Behold, moreover, the most warlike man who ever shunned Arthur.[176] Then said Bedwyr to Cai, 'Do you know him?' 'I do know him,' said Cai, 'he is Dillus Farfawg. There is no leash in the world that will hold Drudwyn, the cub of Greid, the son of Eri, save a leash of the beard of the man you see yonder. And it also will be of no avail, unless it is pulled from his beard with tweezers alive; it would be brittle dead.' 'What is our plan regarding that?' said Bedwyr. 'Let us leave him', said Cai, 'to eat his full of meat, and after that, he will sleep.' While he was so doing, they occupied themselves making tweezers. When Cai knew for certain that he was asleep, he made, under his feet, the deepest pit in the world, and struck him a terrific blow, and squeezed him into the pit, until they had completely pulled out his beard with the tweezers. And then they slew him altogether.

And thence the two of them went as far as Gelliwic

[174] 'Rhyswr'. L. G. translates as 'robber'; but 'rhyswr' does not mean 'robber'. Anwyl gives 'soldier'. The word conveys a sense of being a free-lance.

[175] Lit. 'and they drew near to that place, watching from afar, until it was Dillus . . .'

[176] The structure of the language permits this, probably, to be read as 'whom Arthur ever shunned'. We think that is the real meaning, viz. that Dillus was the sole person Arthur ever feared. If so, it adds point to Cai's resentment later of Arthur's 'englyn'. There is nothing in the text to show it was an assertion of Bedwyr's. It is an explanatory note of the reciter's.

in Cornwall, and the leash from Dillus Farfawg's beard with them, and Cai placed it in Arthur's hand. And then Arthur sang this englyn:

'Cai made a leash,
From the beard of Dillus, the son of Eurei,
Had he been fit, he would have been your death.'

And on that account, Cai sulked so that it was difficult for the warriors of the island to make peace between Cai and Arthur. And henceforth, neither in Arthur's misfortune, nor at the slaying of his men, would Cai concern himself to help him from that time R.B. 134 onwards.

And then Arthur said, 'Which of the difficult things is it best for us to seek now?' 'It is best to seek Drudwyn, the cub of Greid, the son of Eri.'

A little before this, Creiddylad, the daughter of Lludd of the Silver Hand, went away with Gwythyr, the son of Greidawl; and before he had slept with her, Gwynn, the son of Nudd, came and took her away by violence. A host was mustered by Gwythyr, the son of Greidawl, and he came to fight with Gwynn, the son of Nudd; and Gwynn gained the victory, and captured Greid, the son of Eri, and Glinneu, the son of Taran, and Gwrgwst Ledlwm, and Dyfnarth, his son. And he captured Penn, the son of Nethawg, and Nwython, and Cyledyr Wyllt, his son. And he slew Nwython, and took out his heart; and he compelled Cyledyr to devour his father's heart. And because of that Cyledyr went mad.[177]

[177] Anwyl, 'into the wild country'.

Arthur heard of this, and he came to the North, and summoned Gwynn, the son of Nudd, to him, and released the *gwyrda* he had in his prison, and made peace between Gwynn, the son of Nudd, and Gwythyr, the son of Greidawl. This is the peace which was made. The maid to remain in her father's house, untouched[178] of both sides; and Gwynn and Gwythyr to fight, every calends of May for ever, until the Day of Judgement from that day forward; and the one of them who gained the victory on the Day of Judgement to take the maid.

And having thus reconciled those *gwyrda*, Arthur obtained Myngdwn, the horse of Gweddw, and the leash of Cwrs Cant Ewin.

Thereafter Arthur went as far as Llydaw, and Mabon, the son of Mellt, with him, and Gware Gwallt Euryn, to search for the two dogs of Glythmyr the Breton. And after obtaining them, Arthur went as far as the west of Ireland to search for Gwrgi Severi, and Odgar, the son of Aedd, the King of Ireland, with him. From there Arthur went to the North, and captured Cyledyr Wyllt.

R.B. 135 And he went (to find) Yscithyrwynn the Chief Boar. And Mabon, the son of Mellt, went with the two dogs of Glythmyr the Breton in his hand, and Drudwyn, the cub of Greid, the son of Eri. And Arthur himself took his place in the hunt, and Cavall, Arthur's dog, in his hand. And Caw of Prydein mounted Lamrei, Arthur's mare, to be first at the charge. And then Caw of Prydein took a strong hatchet, and, courageous and

[178] 'diuwyn'. Strachan, 'intacta'; Anwyl, 'unwedded'.

quick, he came to the boar, and split its head in two halves. And Caw took the tusk. It was not the dogs which Yspaddaden had specified to Kulhwch that killed the boar, but Cavall, Arthur's own dog.

Having slain Ysgithyrwyn, the Chief Boar, Arthur and his host went to Gelliwic in Cornwall; and thence he dispatched Menw, the son of Teirgwaedd, to see if the jewels were between Twrch Trwyth's two ears, since it would be a useless thing to exchange blows with him, unless he had the jewels. Nevertheless, it was certain that he was there. Now he had finished laying waste one-third of Ireland. Menw went to seek them. He saw them in Esgair Oerfel in Ireland. And Menw transformed himself into the guise of a bird, and he alighted on top of his lair, and tried to despoil him of one of the jewels. And, nevertheless, he got naught but one of his bristles. And he arose most resolutely, and shook himself until some of the poison reached him. Thenceforth Menw was never without blemish.

After that, Arthur dispatched a message to Odgar, the son of Aedd, King of Ireland, to seek the cauldron of Diwrnach the Irishman, his *maer*.[82] Odgar besought him to give it. Diwrnach said, 'God knows if he benefited from getting one sight of it, he would not get it.' And Arthur's messenger came back from Ireland with a refusal.

Arthur started off with a small company; and he R.B. 136
went in his ship Prydwen, and came to Ireland, and they proceeded to the house of Diwrnach the Irishman. The host of Odgar saw their size. After they had

eaten and drunk their fill, Arthur demanded the cauldron. He said, 'If I would have given it to any one, I would have given it at the word of Odgar, King of Ireland.' After the utterance of the refusal to them, Bedwyr arose and laid hold of the cauldron, and put it on the back of Hygwydd, Arthur's servant. He was a brother, of the same mother, to Cachamwri, Arthur's servant. His duty it was always to carry Arthur's cauldron, and to light the fire under it. Llenlleawg the Irishman seized Caledfwlch, and whirled it round, and slew Diwrnach the Irishman and his host altogether.[179] The hosts of Ireland came and fought with them; and when the hosts had entirely fled, Arthur and his men at once went on board the ship, and the cauldron full of Irish treasure[180] with them. And they disembarked at the house of Llwydeu, the son of Cilcoed, at Porth Cerddin in Dyfed, and the measure of the cauldron is there.

And then Arthur mustered together what there were of fighting men in the three isles of Britain and their three adjacent isles, and what there were in France, and Brittany, and Normandy, and in the Summer Country, and what there were of picked foot-soldiers and famous horsemen.[181] And he went with all those hosts as far as Ireland, and there was great fear and trembling in Ireland at his coming.

And after Arthur had come to land, the saints of Ireland came to him to seek his protection. And he

[179] 'achan', error for 'achlan'.
[180] 'swllt', now used as equivalent to a shilling.
[181] 'a march', collective for horsemen.

granted them protection, and they gave him their blessing. The men of Ireland came to Arthur, and gave him victuals. Arthur came as far as Esgair Oerfel in Ireland to the place where the Twrch Trwyth was, and seven young pigs with him. He unleashed the dogs upon him from every direction. That day, until even- R.B. 137
ing, the Irish fought with him. Nevertheless, he laid waste one-fifth part of Ireland. And the next day, Arthur's body-guard fought with him. Except what of evil they had from it, they had nothing of good. The third day Arthur himself fought with him for nine days and nine nights. He slew none save one little pig out of the swine. Arthur's men asked him what was the meaning of that sow, and he told them, 'He was a King; and because of his sins, God transformed him into a sow.' Arthur dispatched Gwrhyr Gwalstawd Ieithoedd to seek to talk with him. Gwrhyr went in the form of a bird, and alighted above his lair and that of the seven small pigs. And Gwrhyr Gwalstawd Ieithoedd asked him, 'By the Being[182] who made you in this image, if you can speak, I beseech one of you to come to speak with Arthur.' Grugyn of the Silver Bristles answered him. Like wings of silver were all his bristles; whatever way he travelled, through wood or open plain, he could be seen as his bristles shimmered.[183] This is the answer Grugyn gave, 'By the Being who

[182] The word used is 'gwr'. Commonly it means 'man'; but has the secondary meaning of 'Being'.

[183] Loth. 'Grugyn . . . dont les soies étaient comme des fils d'argent, à tel point qu'on le suivait à leur scintillement, à travers bois ou champs, lui fit cette réponse.'

made us in this image, we will not do so, nor will we say aught to Arthur. God has done evil enough to us, making us in this image, without you coming to fight with us.' 'I tell you that Arthur fights for the comb, and the razor, and the scissors that are between the two ears of the Twrch Trwyth.' Said Grugyn, 'He shall not get those jewels unless first he gets his life. And next day in the morning, we will set forth from here. And we will go to Arthur's land, and the utmost extent of harm we can do, we will do there.'

They set forth by sea towards Cymru. And Arthur and his hosts and his horses and his dogs went on board Prydwen; and he cast a glance of an eye upon them.
R.B. 138 The Twrch Trwyth alighted at Porth Cleis in Dyfed.

Arthur came that night as far as Mynyw. The next day, Arthur was told they had gone by, and he overtook them slaying the cattle of Cynwas Cwrr y Fagyl. And they had slain what there were of men and beasts in Deu Cleddyf before the coming of Arthur. But when Arthur came, the Twrch Trwyth started off from there to Presseleu. Arthur and the hosts of the world came there. Arthur dispatched his men to their places in the hunt; Ely, and Trachmyr, and Drudwyn, the cub of Greid, the son of Eri, in his own hand; and Gwarthegyd, the son of Caw, to another corner, with the two dogs of Glythmyr the Breton in his hand. And Bedwyr with Cavall, Arthur's dog, in his hand. And he marshalled all the warriors on both sides of the Nyfer. The three sons of Cleddyf Difwlch came; men who had obtained great fame in slaying

Ysgithyrwyn,[184] the Chief Boar. And then he started off from Glynn Nyfer,[1] and he came to Cwm Cerwyn, and he stood at bay there. And there he slew four of Arthur's fighting men, Gwarthegyd, the son of Caw, and Tarawg of Allt Clwyd, and Rheidwn, the son of Eli Atfer, and Iscofan Hael. And after he had slain those men, he turned at bay a second time there, and he slew Gwydre, the son of Arthur, and Garselit the Irishman, and Glew, the son of Yscawd, and Iscawyn, the son of Panon, and there they wounded him. In the morning next day, at the beginning of the day, some of the men overtook him. And then he slew Huandaw and Gogigiwr and Pennpingon, the three servants of Glewlwyd Gafaelfawr, so that God knows there was not a servant in the world left in his possession, save Llaesgenym, himself a man from whom nobody derived any good. And along with them he killed many men of the countryside, and Gwlyddyn the carpenter, Arthur's head carpenter. And then Arthur overtook him at Pelumyaug, and there he slew Madawg, R.B. 139 the son of Teithyon, and Gwynn, the son of Tringad, the son of Nefed, and Eiryawn Pennlloran. And thence he went as far as Aber Tywi; and there he stood at bay, and there he slew Cynlas, the son of Cynan, and Gwilenhin, the French King. Thence he went as far as Glynn Ystu, and there the men and dogs lost him.

Arthur summoned Gwynn ap Nudd to him, and asked him if he knew aught of Twrch Trwyth. He said

[184] This is inaccurate. They took no part in the slaying of Ysgithyrwyn.

he did not know. Then all the huntsmen went to hunt the swine as far as Dyffryn Llychwr. And Grugyn of the Silver Hair and Llwydawg Gofynnyad rushed upon them, and slew the huntsmen, so that no man of them escaped alive save one man. So Arthur and his hosts came to the place where Grugyn and Llwydawg were, and there he unleashed upon them what dogs there were, that have been mentioned, altogether. And at the shout which they raised when at bay there, the Twrch Trwyth came to defend them. And from the time when they had come across the Irish Sea he had not visited them till then. There he let fall upon him both men and dogs. He applied himself to travel as far as Mynydd Amanaw; and there Banw, one of his pigs, was slain. And there life for life went with him, and there too was Twrch Llawin slain, and there also was another of his pigs slain. His name was Gwys. And thence he went as far as Dyffryn Amanw; and there Banw and Bennwig were slain. None of his pigs got away with him from there alive, save Grugyn of the Silver Hair and Llwydawg Gofynnyad. From that place they went as far as Llwch Ewin, and Arthur overtook him there. There he stood at bay, and there he slew Echel Fordwydtwll, and Garwyli, the son of
R.B. 140 Gwydawg Gwyr, and many men and dogs besides. And thence they went as far as Llwch Tawy. Thence Grugyn of the Silver Bristles separated from them, and Grugyn went thence to Dintywi. And thence he went to Ceredigiawn, and Eil and Trachmyr with him, and a multitude with them as well. And he came as far as

Garth Gregyn and there was he slain; Llwyddawg Gofynnyad (rushed) into their midst, and Rhudfyw Rhys was slain, and many with him. And then Llwydawg went as far as Ystrad Yw; and there the men of Brittany met him. And there he slew Hir Peissawg, King of Brittany, and Llygadrudd Emys, and Gwrbothu, uncles of Arthur, brothers of his mother. And there was he slain. Twrch Trwyth went then between the Tawy and Ewyas. Arthur summoned Cornwall and Devon against him as far as the River Severn. And Arthur said to the warriors of this island, 'Twrch Trwyth has slain many of my men. By the valour of my men, not while I live shall he go into Cornwall. I will not chase him farther, but will oppose my life to his life. Do what you will.' It was decided with their counsel to let a battalion of horsemen go with dogs of the island with them as far as Ewyas, and to return from there as far as the Severn. And there what there were of proved warriors of the island were to lie in wait for him, and to drive him by sheer necessity[185] into the Severn. And Mabon, the son of Modron, went with him on Gwynn Myngdwn, the horse of Gweddw, into the Severn. And Goreu, the son of Custennin, and Menw, the son of Teirgwaedd, between Llyn Lliwan and Abergwy. And Arthur fell upon him, and the fighting men of Britain with him. Osla of the Great Knife drew near, and Manawydan, the son of Llyr, and Cacmwri, the servant of Arthur, and Gwyngelli; and they clutched him. And first they seized him by

[185] 'anghen yn anghen', lit. 'need upon need'.

R.B. 141 the feet, and plunged him into the Severn, until it filled up above him. On one side Mabon, the son of Modron, spurred his steed, and obtained the razor from him; and on the other side Cyledyr Wyllt, on another horse, assailed him in the Severn, and took the scissors from him. Before they deprived him of the comb, he found the ground under his feet; and from when he reached land, neither dog nor man nor horse could keep company with him until he went to Cornwall. However much harm they suffered in seeking the jewels from him, worse did they suffer in trying to rescue the two men from being drowned. As Cacmwri was being pulled out, two quern-stones dragged him down into the deep. As Osla of the Great Knife was running after the boar, his knife fell out of its sheath and he lost it, and thereupon his sheath filled with water, and as they pulled him out, it dragged him into the deep.

Thence Arthur and his hosts went until they overtook him in Cornwall. What evil they had suffered before, that was play compared to what they suffered from him in seeking the comb. From one evil to another, the comb was got from him. And thence he was expelled from Cornwall, and was driven straight ahead into the sea. From that time on no one ever knew where he went, and Aned and Aethlem with him. And thence Arthur went as far as Gelliwic in Cornwall in order to bathe himself, and to cast aside his weariness from him.

Said Arthur, 'Is there now any of the difficult things which has not been obtained?' One of the men said,

'There is: the blood of the Witch Orddu, the daughter of the Witch Orwenn, from Pennant Gofud, in the borderland of hell.'

Arthur set forth for the North, and came to the place where the Cave of the Hag was; and with the advice of Gwynn, the son of Nudd, and Gwythyr, the son of Greidawl, he let Cacmwri and his brother Hygwydd go to fight with the hag. And as they entered the cave, the witch attacked them, and she seized Hygwydd by R.B. 142 the hair of his head, and hurled him to the ground under her. And Cacmwri seized her by the hair of her head, and dragged her to the ground off Hygwydd. And she turned on Cacmwri, and belaboured the two of them, and disarmed them, and drove them out, pushing and kicking them. And Arthur was enraged at seeing his two servants wellnigh slain, and he sought to assault the cave. And then Gwynn and Gwythyr said to him, 'It is neither fair nor agreeable for us to see you scuffling with a hag. Let Hiramren and Hir Eidyl go into the cave.' And they went. And if the first two had had bad trouble, the trouble of those two was worse, so that God knows not one of the whole four could have left the place, had they not all four been placed on Llamrei, Arthur's mare. Then Arthur assailed the door of the cave, and from the door he struck the hag with Carnwennan, his knife, and clove her in half until she was in two buckets.[186] And Caw

[186] A typical example of the elliptical character of the story, which it is possible to render into English. It means until the blood shed filled two buckets.

of Prydein took the blood of the Witch and kept it himself.

And then Kulhwch set forth, and Goreu, the son of Custennin, with him, and those who desired ill for Yspaddaden, the Chief Giant, with the difficult things with them, to his court; and Caw of Prydein came to shave his beard, flesh, and skin to the bone, and the two ears entirely. And Kulhwch said, 'Are you shaved, man?' 'I am shaved,' said he. 'Is your daughter mine now?' 'Yours,'[187] said he, 'and you need not thank me for that, but thank Arthur, the man who arranged it for you. With my free will never would you have obtained her. And it is high time to take my life.' And then Goreu, the son of Custennin, seized him
R.B. 143 by the hair of his head, and dragged him behind him to the muck-heap, and cut off his head, and fixed it on the bailey-stake. And he took possession of the fort and his dominions, and that night Kulhwch slept with Olwen, and she was his only wife so long as he lived. And all of Arthur's hosts dispersed, each one to his own country.

And thus did Kulhwch obtain Olwen, the daughter of Yspaddaden, the Chief Giant.

[187] 'Meu'. Lit. 'property'.

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